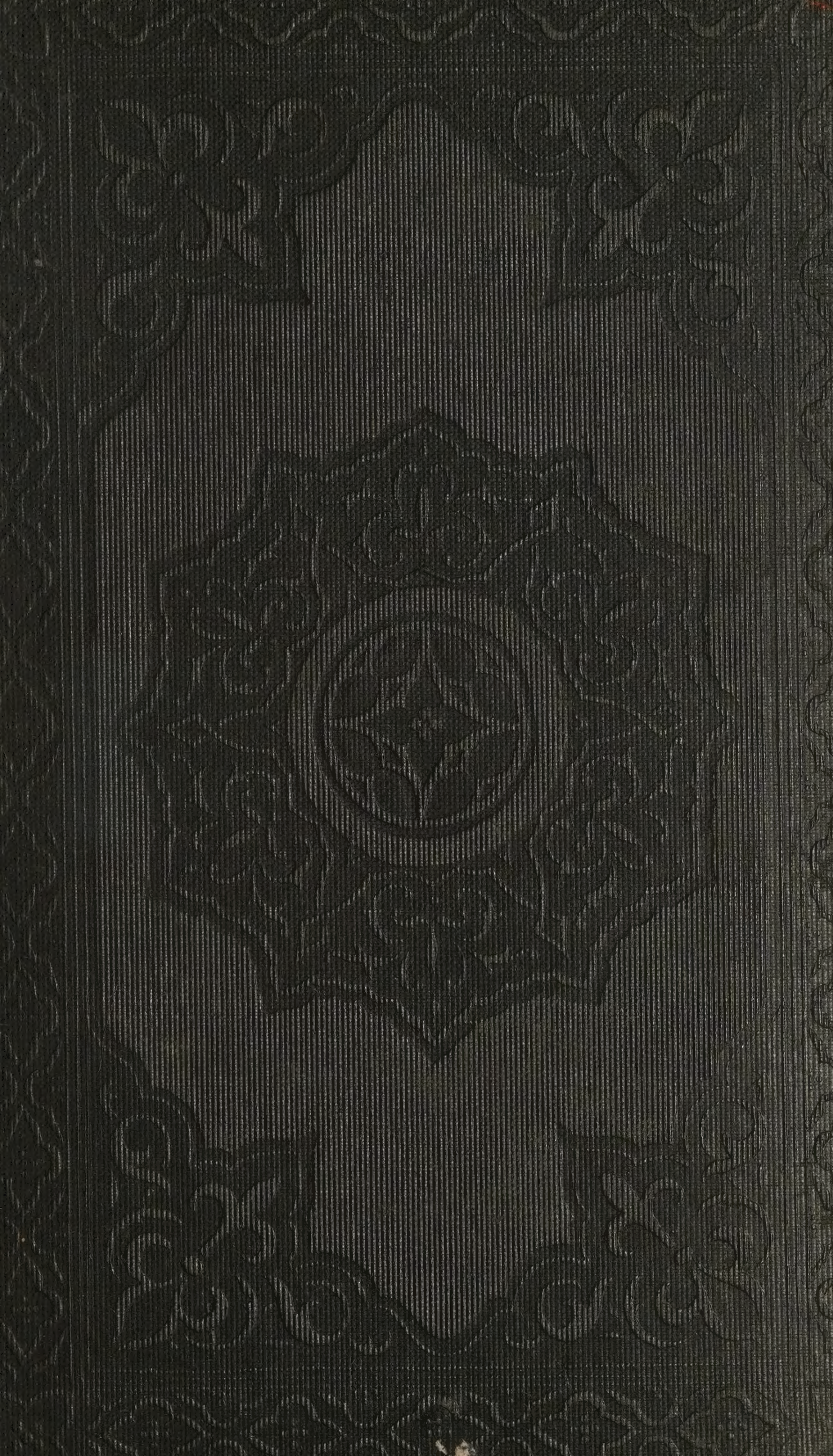


BOHN'S STANDARD LIBRARY.

Post 8vo., Elegantly Printed, and bound in Cloth, at 3s. 6d. per Vol.

1 THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS AND REMAINS OF THE REV. ROBERT HALL, with Memoir by DR. GREGORY, and Essay by JOHN FOSTER. *Portrait.*

2 & 3. ROSCOE'S LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X., Edited by his Son, with the Copyright Notes, Documents, &c. In 2 Vols. *Portraits.*

4. SCHLEGEL'S LECTURES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. Translated from the German, with a Memoir by J. B. ROBERTSON, Esq. *Portrait.*

5 & 6. SISMONDI'S HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE OF THE SOUTH OF EUROPE. Translated by ROSCOE. In 2 Vols. *Portraits.*

7. ROSCOE'S LIFE OF LORENZO DE MEDICI, with the Copyright Notes, &c.

SCHLEGEL'S LECTURES ON DRAMATIC LITERATURE. *Portrait.*

6.29.06.

Library of the Theological Seminary,

PRINCETON, N. J.

Presented by Rev. Wm. B. Scarborough.

Division D102

Section M64

V. 1

29. SHERIDAN'S DRAMATIC WORKS AND LIFE. *Portrait.*

31. GOETHE'S WORKS. Vol. I. [His Autobiography. 13 Books.] *Portrait.*

35. WHEATLEY ON THE COMMON PRAYER. *Frontispiece.*

37, 39, 40, 81, & 86. MILTON'S PROSE WORKS. In 5 Vols, with general Index and *Portraits.*

38, 41, & 45. MENZEL'S HISTORY OF GERMANY. Complete in 3 Vols. *Portrait.*

42. SCHLEGEL'S ÆSTHETIC AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

43. GOETHE'S WORKS. Vol. II. [Remainder of his Autobiography, and Travels.]

44. SCHILLER'S WORKS. Vol. IV. ["The Robbers," "Fiesko," "Love and Intrigue," and "The Ghost-Seer."] Translated by HENRY G. BOHN.

2 *b*

BOHN'S STANDARD LIBRARY.

46. **SCHLEGEL'S LECTURES ON MODERN HISTORY.**

47. **LAMARTINE'S HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848.**

48 & 50. **JUNIUS'S LETTERS,** with Notes, Additions, Essay, Index, &c. 2 Vols.

49, 55, 60, 65, 71. **VASARI'S LIVES OF THE MOST CELEBRATED PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ARCHITECTS.** Translated by Mrs. Foster, with Notes. Complete in 5 Vols., with Index.

51. **TAYLOR'S (JEREMY) HOLY LIVING AND DYING.** *Portrait.*

52. **GOETHE'S WORKS.** Vol. III. ["Faust," "Iphigenia," "Torquato Tasso," and "Egmont."] Translated by Miss Swanwick. With "Goetz von Berlichingen," translated by Sir Walter Scott.

53, 56, 58, 61, 66, 67, 75, & 82. **NEANDER'S CHURCH HISTORY.** Carefully revised by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison. 8 Vols. With Index.

54. **NEANDER'S LIFE OF CHRIST.**

57, 64. **NEANDER'S PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY, & ANTIGNOSTIKUS,** 2 Vols.

59. **GREGORY'S (DR.) LETTERS ON THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.**

62 & 63. **JAMES' (G. P. R.) LOUIS XIV.** Complete in 2 Vols. *Portraits.*

68 & 70. **SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS' LITERARY WORKS,** with Memoir, 2 Vols. *Port.*

69. **ANDREW FULLER'S PRINCIPAL WORKS.** *Portrait.*

72. **BUTLER'S ANALOGY OF RELIGION, AND SERMONS,** with Notes, &c. *Portrait.*

73. **MISS BREMER'S WORKS.** Translated by Mary Howitt. New Edition, revised. Vol. I. ["The Neighbours," and other Tales.] Post 8vo. *Portrait.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

74. **NEANDER'S MEMORIALS OF CHRISTIAN LIFE IN THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES** (including his "Light in Dark Places"). Post 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

76. **MISS BREMER'S WORKS,** by MARY HOWITT. Vol. II. "The President's Daughters." *Portrait.*

77 & 80. **JOHN FOSTER'S LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE,** edited by J. E. Ryland. In 2 Volumes. *Portrait.*

78. **BACON'S ESSAYS, APOPHTHEGMS, WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS, NEW ATALANTIS, AND HENRY VII.,** with Dissertation and Notes. *Portrait.*

79. **GUIZOT'S HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT,** translated from the French by A. R. Scoble. With Index.

83. **MISS BREMER'S WORKS,** by Mary Howitt. Vol. III. "The Home, and Strife and Peace."

84. **DE LOLME ON THE CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND,** or, Account of the English Government; edited, with Life and Notes, by John Macgregor, M.P.

85. **HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA,** from 1792 to the present time; in continuation of COXE. *Portrait of the present Emperor.*

87 & 88. **FOSTER'S LECTURES,** edited by J. E. Ryland. 2 vols.

89. **MISS BREMER'S WORKS,** by MARY HOWITT, Vol IV. "A Diary; The H—— Family; The Solitary; The Comforter; Axel and Anna; and a Letter about Suppers."

90. **SMITH'S (ADAM) THEORY OF MORAL SENTIMENTS;** and "Essay on the First Formation of Languages," with Memoir by Dugald Stewart.

91, 95, 96, 99, 102, 103, 105, & 106. **COWPER'S COMPLETE WORKS,** Edited by Southey; comprising his Poems, Correspondence, and Translations, with Southey's Memoir. *With* 50 *Engravings on Steel.* Complete in 8 vols.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY.

SHAKSPEARE'S PLAYS AND POEMS, with Life, by Chalmers. In 1 Vol. 3*s.* 6*d.*

———— the same, Embellished with 40 pleasing *Steel Engravings,* elegantly bound in red Turkey cloth, gilt edges. 5*s.*

STANDARD LIBRARY CYCLOPÆDIA OF POLITICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL, STATISTICAL, AND FORENSIC KNOWLEDGE. 4 Vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

This work contains as much as eight ordinary octavos. It was first published in another shape by Mr. Charles Knight, under the title of Political Dictionary, at £1 16*s.* The Compiler, Mr. George Long, is one of the most competent Scholars of the day.

STURM'S MORNING COMMUNINGS WITH GOD. New Edition. 5*s.*

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, with Introductory Remarks by the Rev. J. Sherman (printed in a large clear type, with head-lines of Contents). 2*s.* 6*d.*

———— The same, on fine paper, with 8 *new Illustrations by* Leech *and* Gilbert, *and a beautiful Frontispiece by* Hinchliff. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE WIDE, WIDE WORLD, by Elizabeth Wetherell. Complete in 1 Vol, *with Frontispiece,* gilt edges. 3*s.* 6*d.*

———— The same, *Illustrated with 9 highly finished Engravings on Steel,* richly bound in cloth, gilt edges. 5*s.*

BOHN'S SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY.

Uniform with the Standard Library, *price 5s., (excepting "Cosmos," Kidd, and Whewell, which are 3s. 6d., and Mantell's "Petrifactions," which is 6s.)*

1. **STAUNTON'S CHESS PLAYER'S HAND-BOOK,** *with Diagrams.*
2. **LECTURES ON PAINTING,** by THE ROYAL ACADEMICIANS.

3, 4, 8, & 15. **HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS**; or, Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. Translated, with Notes, by E. C. Otté. In 4 Vols., *with fine Portrait.* This Translation (though published at so low a price) is more complete than any other. The Notes are placed beneath the text. Humboldt's analytical summaries, and the passages hitherto suppressed, are included; and comprehensive Indices subjoined. 3*s.* 6*d.* per Volume.

5. **STAUNTON'S CHESS PLAYER'S COMPANION,** comprising a New Treatise on Odds, a Collection of Match Games, Original Problems, &c.
6. **HAND-BOOK OF GAMES,** by VARIOUS AMATEURS and PROFESSORS.
7. **HUMBOLDT'S VIEWS OF NATURE,** *with coloured view of Chimborazo, &c.*

9. **RICHARDSON'S GEOLOGY, AND PALÆONTOLOGY,** Revised by Dr. Wright, *with upwards of* 400 *Illustrations on Wood.*

10. **STOCKHARDT'S PRINCIPLES OF CHEMISTRY,** Exemplified in Simple Experiments, *with upwards of* 270 *Illustrations.*

11. **DR. G. A. MANTELL'S PETRIFACTIONS AND THEIR TEACHINGS;** A Hand-Book to the Fossils in the British Museum. *Beautiful Wood Engravings.* 6*s.*

6 *b*

BOHN'S SCIENTIFIC LIBRARY.

12. **AGASSIZ AND GOULD'S COMPARATIVE PHYSIOLOGY.** New and Enlarged Edition, *with nearly 400 Illustrations.*

13, 19, & 28. **HUMBOLDT'S PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF HIS TRAVELS IN AMERICA.** With General Index.

14. **PYE SMITH'S GEOLOGY AND SCRIPTURE.** Fifth Edition, with Memoir.

16. **OERSTED'S SOUL IN NATURE, &c.** *Portrait.*

17. **STAUNTON'S CHESS TOURNAMENT,** *with Diagrams.*

18 & 20. **BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.** KIRBY on the History, Habits, and Instincts of Animals; Edited by T. RYMER JONES. In 2 Vols. *Many Illustrations.*

21. **BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.** KIDD On the Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man. 3*s.* 6*d.*

22. **BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.** WHEWELL'S Astronomy and General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology. *Portrait of the Earl of Bridgewater.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

23. **SCHOUW'S EARTH, PLANTS, AND MAN,** and **KOBELL'S SKETCHES FROM THE MINERAL KINGDOM,** Translated by A. HENFREY, F.R.S., &c., *with Coloured Map of the Geography of Plants.*

24. **BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.** CHALMERS on the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man, with the Author's last Corrections, and Biographical Sketch by the REV. DR. CUMMING.

25. **BACON'S NOVUM ORGANUM AND ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.** Complete, with Notes, by J. DEVEY, M.A.

26 & 27. **HUMPHREY'S COIN COLLECTOR'S MANUAL:** a popular introduction to the Study of Coins, ancient and modern; with elaborate Indexes, *and numerous highly-finished Engravings on Wood and Steel,* 2 Vols.

29. **COMTE'S PHILOSOPHY OF THE SCIENCES,** Edited from the 'Cours de Philosophie Positive,' by G. H. LEWES, Esq.

30. **MANTELL'S (DR.) GEOLOGICAL EXCURSIONS,** including **THE ISLE OF WIGHT.** New Edition, with Prefatory Note by T. RUPERT JONES, Esq., *numerous beautiful Woodcuts, and a Geological Map.*

31. **HUNT'S POETRY OF SCIENCE;** or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. 3rd Edition, revised and enlarged.

32 & 33. **ENNEMOSER'S HISTORY OF MAGIC,** Translated from the German by WILLIAM HOWITT. With an Appendix of the most remarkable and best authenticated Stories of Apparitions, Dreams, Second Sight, Predictions, Divinations, Vampires, Fairies, Table Turning, and Spirit Rapping, &c., by MARY HOWITT. In 2 Vols.

34. **HUNT'S ELEMENTARY PHYSICS;** an Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy. New Edition, revised. *Numerous Woodcuts and Coloured Frontispiece.*

BOHN'S ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, *at 5s. per volume,*

1 to 8. **LODGE'S PORTRAITS OF ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES OF GREAT BRITAIN.** 8 Vols. post 8vo. 240 *Portraits.*

9. **CRUIKSHANK'S THREE COURSES AND DESSERT,** *with* 50 *Illustrations.*

10. **PICKERING'S RACES OF MAN,** *with numerous Portraits* (*or Coloured* 7*s.* 6*d.*)

11. **KITTO'S SCRIPTURE LANDS, AND BIBLICAL ATLAS,** *with* 24 *Maps,* (*or Coloured,* 7*s.* 6*d.*)

BOHN'S ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY.

12. **WHITE'S NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE,** with Notes by SIR WM. JARDINE and others, edited, with large additions, by E. JESSE, Esq. *With* 40 *highly-finished Wood Engravings* (*Coloured*, 7*s*. 6*d*.)

13. **DIDRON'S CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY,** *with* 150 *beautiful Engravings*. In 2 Vols. Vol. I.

14. **REDDING ON WINES.** New and Revised Edition, *with* 20 *beautiful Woodcuts.*

15 & 16. **ALLEN'S BATTLES OF THE BRITISH NAVY.** New Edition. Enlarged by the Author. *Numerous fine Portraits* on Steel. 2 Vols.

17 & 18. **ROME IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.** Fifth Edition, in 2 Vols., *with* 34 *fine Steel Engravings*, and Index.

19. **MAXWELL'S VICTORIES OF WELLINGTON AND THE BRITISH ARMIES,** *with Engravings on Steel.*

20. **LIFE OF WELLINGTON,** by "AN OLD SOLDIER," compiled from the materials of Maxwell, and continued by an eminent Author, with an Account of the Funeral. *With* 18 *highly finished Engravings on Steel.*

21. **MARY AND WM. HOWITT'S STORIES OF ENGLISH AND FOREIGN LIFE,** *with* 20 *beautiful Steel Engravings.*

22. **BECHSTEIN'S CAGE** and **CHAMBER BIRDS,** including SWEET'S Warblers. New Edition, greatly enlarged, *numerous Plates* (*or Coloured*, 7*s*. 6*d*.)

23. **NORWAY AND ITS SCENERY,** comprising PRICE'S Journal, with large Additions and a Road Book. Edited by THOS. FORESTER, Esq. *With* 22 *Illustrations, beautifully Engraved on Steel by Lucas.*

*** The Road Book is sold separately, price 2s.

24. **CHINA: PICTORIAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL,** with some account of Ava and the Burmese, Siam and Assam. *Illustrated by nearly* 100 *Engravings on Wood.*

25. **PICTORIAL HANDBOOK OF LONDON,** comprising its Antiquities, Architecture, Arts, Manufactures, Trade, Social, Literary, and Scientific Institutions, Exhibitions, and Galleries of Art, &c. *Illustrated with* 205 *Engravings on Wood, and a large and complete Map.*

This volume, of which the former editions were published by Mr. Weale at 9s., contains above 900 pages.

26. **MARY HOWITT'S PICTORIAL CALENDAR** OF THE **SEASONS,** exhibiting the Pleasures, Pursuits, and Characteristics of Country Life, for every Month in the Year; and embodying the whole of AIKEN'S Calendar of Nature. *Upwards of* 100 *Illustrations.*

27. **DANTE,** translated into English Verse by I. C. WRIGHT, M.A. Third Edition, carefully revised. *Portrait and* 34 *Illustrations on Steel, after* FLAXMAN.

28 & 29. **MUDIE'S BRITISH BIRDS,** or History of the Feathered Tribes of the British Islands. Fifth Edition, revised by W. C. L. MARTIN, Esq. Complete in 2 Vols., *with* 52 *figures of Birds, and* 7 *additional Plates of Eggs.* (*Or, with the Plates Coloured*, 7*s*. 6*d*. per Vol.)

30. **TASSO'S JERUSALEM DELIVERED,** translated into English Spenserian verse, with a Life of the Author by J. H. WIFFEN. Fourth Edition. 24 *Engravings by* THURSTON *on Wood, and* 8 *on Steel.*

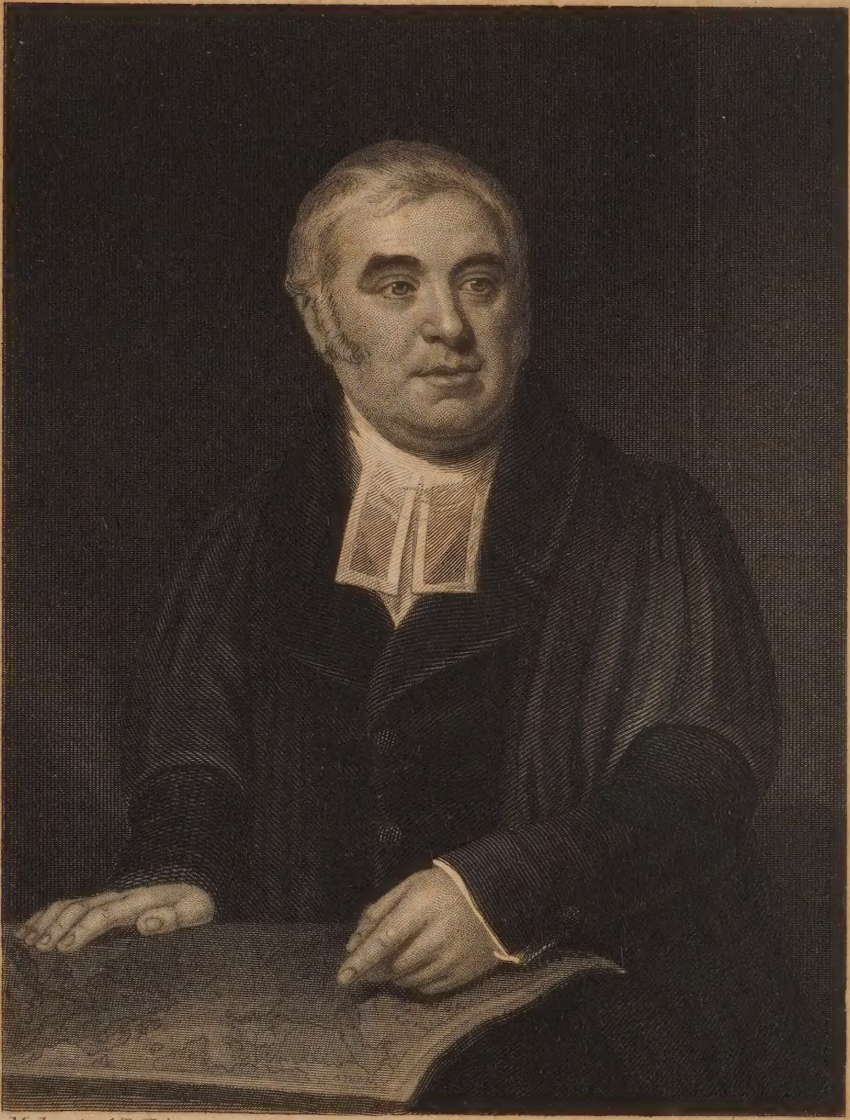
31. **INDIA: PICTORIAL, DESCRIPTIVE,** and **HISTORICAL,** from the Earliest Times to the Present. *Illustrated by upwards of* 100 *Engravings on Wood, and Map of Hindoostan.*

32. **NICOLINI'S HISTORY OF THE JESUITS:** their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Designs. *Portraits of* Loyola, Lainèz, Xavier, Borgia, Acquaviva, Père la Chaise, Ricci, and Pope Ganganelli.

33. **ROBINSON CRUSOE,** with Illustrations by STOTHARD and HARVEY, 12 *beautiful Engravings on Steel, and* 74 *on Wood.*

8 b

90c



Mulrenin, A.R.H.A. Hinchliff.

The Rev^{d} George Miller, D.D.

LECTURER ON MODERN HISTORY, &c.

HISTORY,

PHILOSOPHICALLY ILLUSTRATED,

FROM

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

TO

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY

GEORGE MILLER, D.D., M.R.I.A.

VICAR GENERAL OF ARMAGH; FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE,
DUBLIN, AND LECTURER ON MODERN HISTORY.

Third Edition,

REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

LONDON:
H. G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
1852.

PREFACE.

The work now presented to the public contains the substance of a course of lectures, originally delivered in the university of Dublin, and afterwards published at intervals in the same form. In preparing a second edition it was deemed expedient to abandon the form of lectures, as requiring many recapitulations, and other passages which might be spared, and thus to reduce the work within a more convenient magnitude. The author has at the same time availed himself of the opportunity, for making such corrections, as appeared to be necessary, and also for introducing such additional information, as in the interval had been placed within his reach, especially by recent publications. Among these he has been chiefly indebted to the history of the Arabs and Moors of Spain by M. de Marlès, and to the Constitutional History of England by Mr. Hallam.

The design of the work, and the principles, upon which it rests, being sufficiently explained in the Introduction, it is only necessary in this place to state, in what manner the author was led to conceive the system here proposed. From this statement it will appear to have been suggested by no enthusiasm of religious feeling on the one part, nor on the other by any love of philosophical theorising, but to have been slowly and gradually formed, as new notions of society presented themselves successively to his mind, requiring little more than to be combined together in an orderly arrangement.

The author was first led to speculate on the structure of political society by Priestley's Lectures on History and General Policy, which had casually attracted his attention, when he was seeking for general information, having been not long before released from a prescribed course of academic study. By the latter lectures he was particularly interested, as they treat of the providential government of God, though very generally and indistinctly. The topic, which made the deepest impression on his mind, was that which treats of the advantages of war and conquest. He did not then however, nor during the nine following years, contemplate the formation of any theory of history, nor propose to himself the study of it as an object of any peculiar attention. The only use, which in this interval it occurred to him to make of the reflections suggested by that work, was that, in preaching before the university on one of the days of humiliation appointed in the progress of the revolutionary war, he took occasion to represent political communities, not as moral and accountable persons, the objects of temporal reward or punishment, but as moral instruments of the beneficent purposes of an almighty ruler, which would be permitted to subsist, only so long as they should be suited to the accomplishment of the plans of his goodness.

The necessarian doctrine maintained by Priestley became subsequently known to the author, but was by him on mature consideration rejected. When he was afterwards led to form a theory of the providential government of God, he conceived it to be exercised by the divine foreknowledge of the conduct of every individual, considered however as a free agent, the qualities of every individual being by the divine will determined at his birth, in reference to the foreknown part which he would freely sustain in society. The divine foreknowledge of contingent events was thus substituted for the control of necessity.

Some unforeseen arrangements, about the year 1800, placed the author in the situation of Assistant to the Professor of Modern History. In this department little had been at any time done*, and latterly almost nothing. The author was urged by the Provost to render his new situation effective, and encouraged to deliver a course of public lectures, though not properly the duty of his subordinate station. In compliance with the exhortation of his superior, he looked around for some general view of modern history, by which he might give the necessary connexion to a course of lectures. Prepossessed in favour of no system, in truth not having thought of any, he sought merely for the combination of order; but, in seeking for this, he was gradually led to perceive a real combination of events, as the parts of one comprehensive plan of providential government.

In looking through those compendiums of general history, which, he thought, might best furnish a plan of orderly connexion, he consulted Puffendorff's Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe; and in perusing this work of a protestant writer he was particularly struck by the representation of the spiritual monarchy of Rome, which is very minutely detailed. By this he was led to consider the papacy more distinctly than he had ever done before, as arising naturally out of the earlier condition of modern Europe, and intimately affecting all the relations of the states, which were gradually formed from the ruins of the ancient empire of the west. Here he seemed to have found a principle of real connexion, and not merely of orderly arrangement. He called to mind that he had learned to consider communities as moral instruments of the providence of God, and the consideration of the use and influence of a state of a peculiar character, intimately connected with the rest, appeared to supply a principle of unity, by which some plan of providential government might perhaps be discovered, which should vindicate its truth by its manifest tendency to advance the improvement of mankind. The papacy, which he had been accustomed to consider as an abuse and an evil, might be admitted as furnishing the connecting principle, since he had learned to consider war itself as beneficial, and even as the proper agency, by which one community influences another.

---

* Doctor Michael Kearney had delivered four introductory lectures on the history of the government of Rome, and doctor Dabzac afterwards eight lectures on the history of the constitution of the government of England.

Much however remained to be determined, before an orderly combination of the events of modern history could be distinctly conceived, such as might be acknowledged to exhibit the plan of a providential government. The author accordingly proceeded to examine the histories of the several states of Europe, beginning with the history of France, in which country Charlemagne re-established, after a little more than three centuries, the empire of the west. The very particular analysis, which Mably had made of this history, drew him to the perusal of the works of that writer; and in these he found a specific notion of a balance of power, as consisting, not simply in a general system of international associations, but in an orderly arrangement of political interests, in which a predominant power should excite the apprehension and resistance of the other states, and a secondary, but yet considerable power, might afford protection to these, by connecting them with itself in one combined plan of resistance. This notion, which is strictly agreeable to the facts of history, supplied a principle of combination for the later period of modern history, in which the influence of the papacy was opposed by the reformation, as the papacy itself had done for the earlier period, in which a balance of power had not yet been constituted, and a general union of the states of Europe was alone to be considered.

In studying the application of the notion of Mably, the history of the two important treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht came to be examined, the former having mainly adjusted the political relations of Europe in the seventeenth, the latter in the eighteenth century. In this examination two observations presented themselves, by which the plan was at length completely formed. It soon appeared that the adjustments effected by these two treaties were different, the former having constituted Austria the predominant, and France the opposing power, the latter having placed France in the position of Austria, and Great Britain in that of France. It accordingly occurred to the author, that there were two distinct periods in the arrangement of a balance of power, the Austrian and the French, and that the former was but preparatory to the latter. The other observation was that, though almost all the powers of Europe were concerned in the negotiations of Westphalia, the northern governments were not included in those of Utrecht, and that their interests were separately adjusted, first by the treaty of Oliva, and afterwards by that of Nystadt. It then occurred that, in the progressive formation of the system of Europe, it had resolved itself into two combinations of states, a principal one maintaining a balance of power among its component governments, and an accessory composed of the four governments of Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, having for its object the aggrandisement of the first of these countries. The plan of the theory was thus completed. All which was afterwards to be done, was to fill up the outline.

From this detail it must appear, that the system now proposed has been formed as abstractedly from all prepossessions as can well be imagined. As Bradley discovered the aberration of light, and a confirmation of its prodigious velocity, when he was endeavouring to measure the parallax of a star, so in this case was the plan of a providential government suggested to the author, when the orderly combination of a course of lectures was the object of his inquiry. The several notions also, which have been brought together in forming it, had been received from the most heterogeneous sources, from the writings of a unitarian minister of dissenters from the church of England, of a Lutheran jurist, and of a French politician, and from the histories of important negotiations. During nine years the original suggestion had lain dormant in his mind, when it was called into activity by the duty of an unsought situation. It moreover belongs to this system, that he had nothing to justify, or to condemn. He is not required by his theory to vindicate, or to censure, any transaction, all being according to it, conducive, directly or indirectly, to the same end. The massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day is as much a part of such a scheme, as the reformation; the bigotry and tyranny of James II., as the wisdom and moderation of William III. He had only to endeavour to show how each transaction has been by its consequences a part of a combined whole, having for its general issue the improvement of human society; how each leading individual, whatever may have been the motive, or the quality of his conduct, was an agent, though free and unconscious, in the execution of the plan of a wise and beneficent providence. Concerning the political questions of his own time and country the author has elsewhere maintained decided opinions; but he has carefully abstained from converting his examination of general history into a vehicle for the discussions of the passing day. His view was too high for such an object. His hope of advancing securely in a new path of philosophy would not permit him to embarrass himself with speculating on the consequences of recent events.

In executing the details of his plan, the author has rarely introduced an observation from himself concerning the consequences of events. Those, which he found in the writings of various authors, were nearly sufficient for his purpose; and he gladly availed himself of the unsuspicious testimony of men, who could not have contemplated his plan. In no instance has he ascribed any event to a direct interposition of the divine providence, all events being in his view alike providential. He has indeed cited such observations of others, as favourable to his design of proving the reality of a providential government, inasmuch as they refer the actions of men to such a consideration of human affairs. They have not however been the observations of religious enthusiasts, for they have been cited from* Davila, the duke de St Simon, and the marquess de Torcy.

If bishop Butler has pronounced the moral government of God to be placed quite beyond our comprehension, he has said the same of his natural government, so that the judgment of that eminent reasoner is not more adverse to the design of the present work, than to the inquiry of the natural philosopher. The truth is that it is not adverse to either, the bishop having considered the government of God only in its relation to his own attributes, his wisdom, equity, and goodness, not to the concerns of men. No inference therefore can be made from it, which should discourage an examination of moral and political combinations, as they may be conceived to have actually favoured the progress of human improvement and happiness.

Among the sermons of Barrow is one on the unsearchableness of the divine judgments, in which, with much amplification, he has extended the exclamation of the apostle (Ep. to the Romans, xi. 33) on the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles, to all the concerns and relations of men, as if we must ever be unable to form any satisfactory opinion of the providential government of God. But, in his practical applications of the subject of the discourse, he has, not very consistently, represented, that the difficulty 'should quicken our industry in observing and considering the works of providence,' so that even according to him the subject is open to human investigation, and by its very difficulty solicits a more attentive inquiry. His notion of a providential government indeed supposes special interpositions of the Almighty, which do not ordinarily fall within the cognisance of man; but he acknowledges * the principle assumed in the following work, that the free will of man is concurrent with the foreknowledge of God, God having, as he has remarked, 'a perfect foresight of contingent events.' The writings of Bacon also, though he does not appear to have contemplated any general plan of providential government, but merely an occasional illustration of divine judgments, contain an expression very directly applicable to much of the discussions of the present work †, for he describes, as deserving attention, the divine counsels at length plainly manifesting themselves by circuitous combinations of events.

---

* To these may be added Kerroux the author of the Abrégé de l'Histoire de la Hollande, and bishop Burnet.

The work, which is now, in this altered form, again presented to the public, has occupied during thirty years the chief portion of such attention, as the author could spare from urgent and almost engrossing duties. It has not been the amusement of literary leisure, seeking an agreeable occupation for a disengaged mind, but the labour of one, who was forced to withhold from almost necessary recreation the intervals in which it was prosecuted. In this system indeed has long been the home of his thoughts, to which he has gladly retired from annoyance and fatigue, sure to find in it an interest, by which his power of exertion would be new-strung. In bringing it to its present state he has been, perhaps fortunately, free from every influence of personal consideration, for, though he willingly acknowledges to have experienced much courtesy and kindness, he has no other acknowledgment to make. His path he has marked out for himself; and he has trodden it amidst difficulties, which might have justified him in relinquishing it. Should it be hereafter deemed that he has opened to mankind a new and interesting region of philosophy, he bequeaths with it to the remembrance of posterity the shackles, with which he has been long fettered, in this at least resembling the discoverer of the western world.

* This appears to have been first maintained by Justin Martyr in the second century, when he was urging the argument from prophecy, and yet contending for the freedom of the human will. Apol. 2. p. 80. It has been recently urged by professor Sedgwick in his admirable Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge, p. 64. Camb., 1834. † Talia sunt vindictæ seræ et inopinæ; salutes subito affulgentes, et insperatæ; *consilia divina per ambages rerum tortuosas, et stupendas spiras, tandem se manifesto expedientia;* et similia.—De Augm. Scient. lib. ii. cap. 11.

Armagh, 11*th February,* 1832.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

INTRODUCTION.

BOOK I.

REVIEW OF MODERN HISTORY FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, IN THE YEAR 476, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Page

CHAPTER I.—Predispositions to the combinations of modern history. 1

CHAPTER II.—Of the history of the Arabs, from the birth of Mohammed, in the year 569, to the suppression of the caliphate in the year 1258. . 19

Mohammed born in the year 569—he assumes the prophetic character, 609—Flight to Medina, or *hegyra*, 622—Conquest of Arabia completed, and death of Mohammed, 632—Conquest of Syria, 633—of Egypt, 640—of Persia, 651—Beginning of the dynasty of Ommiyah, 661—Conquest of northern Africa, 709—of Transoxiana, 710—of Spain, 711—Saracens defeated by Charles Martel, 732—Beginning of the dynasty of Abbas, 749—Decline of the government, 842—Caliph deprived of authority, 941—Beginning of the Patan or Afghan, dynasty of India, 1205—All India conquered except the Deccan, 1218—Caliphate suppressed, 1258.

CHAPTER III.—Of the history of Italy, from the suppression of the western empire in the year 476, to that of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the year 774. 43

Odoacer suppresses the western empire in the year 476—Theodoric begins the Gothic kingdom of Italy, 493—The Gothic kingdom overthrown by the Greek empire, 553—Alboin begins the Lombard kingdom, 569—The feudal polity begun in Lombardy. 584—Gregory I., the founder of the papal monarchy, pope, 590—Donation of Pepin, 755—The Lombard kingdom overthrown by Charlemagne, 774.

Page

CHAPTER IV—Of the history of France during the first dynasty, or from the first victory of Clovis, or Louis, in the year 486, to the beginning of the reign of Pepin, in the year 752. . . 66

First victory of Clovis, in the year 486—Thierry III., the first of *the sluggard kings*, king, 688—Pepin usurps the government, as mayor of the palace, 690—Charles Martel mayor of the palace, 719—begins the feudal system for France—Defeats the Saracens, 732 and 737—Pepin king, 752.

HAPTER V.—Of the history of France during the second dynasty, or from the beginning of the reign of Pepin, in the year 752, to the beginning of that of Hugh Capet, in the year 987. . . . 85

Pepin king in the year 752—Charles, afterward Charlemagne, sole king of France in 771—The imperial dignity restored in the advancement of Charlemagne, 800—The Normans begin their ravages, 842—Feudal polity of France completed by Charles *the bald*, 877—Germany and Italy finally separated, 888—Normans established in France, 912.

CHAPTER VI.—Of the history of France, from the beginning of the reign of Hugh Capet in the year 987, to the first meeting of the states general, in the year 1303. 103

Change of policy in regard to Rome—The *pragmatic sanction* of Louis IX—Peculiar bearing of the long reign of Philip I.—Influences of the Norman conquest of England upon the government of France—Crusades begun—Institution of civil corporations—Influence of the divorce of Eleanor, queen of Louis *the young*—Aggrandisement of the royal authority begun by the acquisition of the English provinces—First standing forces—Provinces voluntarily ceded to the English by Louis IX. in the year 1259—Reforms of this prince—Nobility bestowed by patent, and lawyers employed in the administration—States general assembledin 1303—Four supports of the feudal system—How overthrown—The Inquisition established in France in the year 1233.

CHAPTER VII.—Of the history of northern Italy, from the reduction of the Lombards, in the year 774, to the commencement of the permanent connexion of the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy with the crown of Germany, in the year 962. . 124

Imperial dignity of the west restored for Charlemagne, in

Page

the year 800—Sicily invaded by the Saracens, 827—Italy about 833—Sicily conquered by them, 851—Italy separated from France, 888—The imperial dignity transferred to an Italian prince, 891—The Hungarians begin to invade Italy, 900—The imperial dignity suspended from 924—Transferred permanently to Germany, in the person of Otho I., 962.

Chapter VIII.—Of the history of northern Italy, from the commencement of the permanent connexion of the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy with the crown of Germany, in the year 962, to the commencement of Italian independence, by the peace of Constance, in the year 1183. . . 141

Otho I., emperor in the year 962—Beginning of Italian independence, 1002—Insurrection of the commons of Italy, 1035—Feudal system of Italy completed, 1037—Predominance of the German emperor over the papacy, 1046—Normans of southern Italy received into vassalage by the Roman see, 1054—Gregory VII. pope, 1073—condemns investitures, 1075—deposes the emperor Henry IV., 1076—Donation of the marchioness Matilda to the see of Rome, 1077—*Concordat* of pope Calixtus II.—Invasion of the emperor Frederic I., 1156—League of Lombardy, 1164—Peace of Constance, 1183.

Chapter IX.—Of the history of northern Italy, from the peace of Constance, concluded in the year 1183, to the establishment of the papal see in Avignon in the year 1309. 166

Republican confederation of Tuscany in the year 1198—Origin of the parties of the Ghibelins and the Guelfs—The kingdom of the two Sicilies united with Germany, 1194—Innocent III. pope in 1198—Struggle with the papacy renewed—The imperial party in Italy ruined, 1250—The kingdom of the two Sicilies detached from Germany, and connected with France, 1265—The island of Sicily detached from the Italian territory of the Sicilian crown, and connected with Spain, 1282—Papacy established at Avignon, 1308—Three successive sets of republics in Italy—The liberties of the cities of Lombardy began to yield to usurpation, 1209—destroyed throughout almost the whole country soon after 1250—Two causes of this revolution—Origin of political clubs—Extreme democracy of Florence—its popular government commenced, 1250, and completed, 1282—Mercantile corporations begun there, 1266—Imperfection of the republics of Italy—Origin of Venice, 452—contrasted with Genoa—Ecclesiastical dominion of the papacy perfected by pope Innocent III. elected, 1198.

Page

CHAPTER X.—Of the history of southern Italy and Sicily, from the commencement of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the year 570, to the death of Charles II. of Naples, in the year 1308. . 194

Lombardy conquered by the French in the year 774—Sicily invaded by the Saracens, 827—Southern Italy invaded by them, 833—Duchy of Benevento dismembered, 851—Normans established in Italy, 1029—connexion formed with them by the see of Rome, 1053—Sicily conquered by the Normans, and the Greeks expelled from Italy, 1090—Norman dynasty of the two Sicilies begun, 1130—Southern republics suppressed, 1138—German dynasty begun, 1194—Innocent III. pope 1198—The kingdom transferred to a French prince, 1266—*Sicilian Vespers*, and the kingdom divided into two, that of Naples remaining to the French prince, and that of Sicily being possessed by a prince of Spain, 1282.

CHAPTER XI.—Of the history of Germany, from the beginning of the reign of Louis the Germanic, in the year 840, to the death of Otho I. in the year 973. 213

Louis the Germanic king of Germany, in the year 840——Aristocracy formed by him—All the dominions of Charlemagne united under Charles *the fat* 884—Germany finally separated, 888—Hungarians invited into Germany, 893 or 894 Aristocracy independent and monarchy elective, 911—Saxon dynasty begun, 919—Towns built and encouraged.—Otho I. becomes emperor, 962.

CHAPTER XII.—Of the history of Germany, from the beginning of the reign of Otho II., in the year 973, to the death of Lothaire II., in the year 1137. . 233

The Franconian dynasty begun in the year 1024—Feudal law completed, 1037—Struggle with the papacy begun, 1076—*Concordat* of Calixtus II., 1122.

CHAPTER XIII.—Of the history of Germany, from the death of Lothaire II., in the year 1137, to that of Albert I. in the year 1308. . . . 254

Suabian dynasty begun in the year 1138—Origin of the Guelf and Ghibelin parties—Electoral college begun, 1152—The kingdom of the two Sicilies connected with Germany, 1194—Struggle with the papacy renewed—Hanseatic league formed, 1241—League of the Rhine, 1247—Extreme degradation of the imperial authority, 1250—Series of emperors of various families begun, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies separated from the empire. 1254—Territorial sovereignty of the states of Germany established—Rodolph of Hapsburgh emperor, 1273—Confederacy of the Swiss cantons, 1308.

Page

CHAPTER XIV.—Of the history of the Spanish peninsula, from the beginning of the kingdom of the Goths, in the year 472, to the beginning of the fourteenth century. 279

Spain conquered by Euric and kingdom of the Goths begun in the year 472—The Suevians united to the Goths, 584—Arianism renounced by the Goths, 587—The kingdom begins to decay, 704—overpowered by the Arabs, 711—Kingdom of Asturias formed by Pelayio, 718—Caliphate of Spain begun, 756—Kingdom of Navarre begun, 878—Kingdom of Asturias and Leon begun, 914—Old Castile added to it, 939—The Spanish caliphate ended, 1031—Kingdom of Aragon separated from Navarre, 1035—A province of New Castile begun, and Toledo taken from the Arabs, 1085—Almoravides brought from Africa, 1086—Catalonia acquired by Aragon, 1153—Kingdom of Portugal separated from Castile, 1139—Almoravides expelled, 1144—Almohades enter Spain, 1145—The Moors overthrown at Tolosa, 1212—Leon united to Castile, 1230—Balearic islands conquered by the king of Aragon, 1232—Kingdom of Granada begun, 1238—Valentia reduced in the same year by the king of Aragon—Sicily acquired by the family of Aragon, 1282.

CHAPTER XV.—Of the history of England, from the renunciation of the Romans, in the year 409, to the Norman Conquest, in the year 1066. . . 305

Renunciation of the Romans in the year 409—Arrival of the Saxons, 449—Heptarchy, or rather Octarchy, completed, 586—united by Egbert king of Wessex, 827—Danish invasions begun, 832—Danish dynasty begun, 1017—ended, 1042—Norman conquest, 1066.

CHAPTER XVI.—Of the history of England, from the Norman Conquest, in the year 1066, to the beginning of the reign of Stephen, in the year 1135. . 326

Norman Conquest in the year 1066—Feudal system established, and aggrandisement of the papacy favoured—William Rufus king, and Normandy separated, 1087—Henry I. king, 1100—Normandy re-united, 1106.

CHAPTER XVII.—Of the history of England, from the beginning of the reign of Stephen, in the year 1135, to that of the reign of Henry III., in the year 1216. 347

Stephen king in the year 1135—Henry II. king, 1154.—his extensive territories in France—Scutages established, 1159—Sale of charters to towns, 1167—Ireland invaded, 1170

Page

—Death of Thomas à Becket, and triumph of the papacy, 1172—Richard I. king, 1189—John king, 1199—All the French territory of the crown, except the duchy of Guienne, lost, 1203—Great charter, 1215.

CHAPTER XVIII.—Of the history of England, from the beginning of the reign of Henry III., in the year 1216, to that of the reign of Edward II., in the year 1307. 370

Henry III. king in the year 1216—Counties represented in parliament, 1254—Usurpation of the earl of Leicester, 1264—his parliament, 1265—Edward I. king, 1272—Wales reduced, 1282—Boroughs represented in parliament, 1283.

MODERN HISTORY,

PHILOSOPHICALLY ILLUSTRATED.

INTRODUCTION.

Two works[1] only, which proposed to exhibit a philosophy of history, have been known to the author of these volumes. One of these is that most unworthy production of Voltaire, which possesses no other pretension to the name, than that which may be conceived by such a mind as his to belong to a defence of infidelity. To the single object of calumniating the Christian religion every part of it is directed; and, if this be philosophy, the work may be admitted to deserve its name. The other is the treatise of Herder, a German writer, intitled, 'Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man,' published originally at Weimar in the year 1784. Evidently the work of a man of genius, the latter presents a great variety of interesting reflections; and, though it may be supposed, that the religious opinions of the author by no means correspond to our standard of orthodoxy, yet his representations are not liable to the imputation of any systematic design of disparaging the mission of our Redeemer. In a philosophical view however the treatise of Herder is exposed to much objection. A philosophical view of history seems to require, either that we should propose to reduce into a scientific arrangement the histories of various governments, and by contemplating their general classes endeavour to investigate the laws of their action, or that we should consider them as dissimilar parts of one comprehensive whole, illustrating, by their common tendency towards a general result, the wisdom and the goodness of the great contriver. It appears that there should be either generalisation or combination. In the work of Herder however there is neither. He has regarded each government as a distinct and peculiar result of distinct and peculiar causes, industriously proscribing the notion of a combined subserviency of parts, and conceiving that he had framed a foundation for a philosophy of history, when he contended that every form of society had naturally and necessarily arisen in its own circumstances, and that every possible form either has somewhere existed, or will hereafter exist. Such a theory exhibits rather the fatalism of the German theatre, than the orderly creation of an intelligent being, manifesting by its harmony the attributes of its author.

---

[1] The General History of Civilisation in Europe, recently published by M. Guizot, treats its subject too generally, to constitute that which the author would understand by a philosophy of history. Schlegel's Philosophy of History was published in the English language since this introduction was written.

Two theories have indeed been proposed, according to which it was believed, that the events of human history might be reduced to a system, though no attempt has been made to verify either by applying it to historical details. These were the system of optimism devised by Leibnitz, and that of perfectibility, proposed by Turgot, and maintained by Condorcet. The former, which was the production of an age of religious seriousness, proposed to reconcile the appearances of the moral world with the attributes of God: the latter, the work of an age of philosophical infidelity, to accommodate them to the ambitious aspirings of man.

The heterodoxy, or rather the infidelity of Bayle, gave the impulse, which excited the imagination of the German philosopher. Embarrassed by the great difficulty of explaining the origin of evil, Bayle had sought refuge in the Manichean opinion[2], which assumed the existence of two independent and contending principles, the one of good, the other of evil. To this monstrous doctrine Leibnitz[3], in the year 1710, opposed that of optimism, in which it is held, that the world, though not free from natural and moral evil, is yet the best, which it was possible to construct, the evil of either kind being in the smallest quantity possible, and being followed by the most advantageous consequences. The doctrine of optimism may be conceived to have been in some degree derived from Plato, who had spoken in this manner of the arrangement of matter in the formation of the universe[4]. That which Plato had taught of matter, Leibnitz applied also to the circumstances and agencies of reasonable creatures.

The manner in which the existence of evil is explained agreeably to the doctrine of optimism, has been illustrated by its author in a philosophic fiction[5]. The story, which had been begun by Laurentius Valla, feigned that Sextus, the son of the second Tarquin, went to Delphi, to consult the oracle of Apollo in regard to his destiny. The oracle foretold that he would violate Lucretia; and, when Sextus complained of the prediction, Apollo replied, that he was but the prophet, that Jupiter had regulated every thing, and that to that deity his complaint should be addressed. Here the fiction of Valla terminated. Leibnitz continued it by supposing that Sextus went accordingly to Dodona, to prefer his complaint to Jupiter: that Jupiter replied, that he needed only to absent himself from Rome; and that Sextus declared, that he could not renounce the hope of acquiring possession of the crown. The high-priest is then described as enquiring of Jupiter, after the departure of Sextus, why he had not granted him a different will. Jupiter, in reply, sent the high-priest to Athens, to consult Minerva, who showed him the palace of the Destinies, containing a representation of every possible universe, from the worst to the best. The high-priest perceived in the best the crime of Sextus, from which sprung the liberty of the Roman state, a government fruitful in virtues, an empire beneficial to a large portion of the human race; and he could urge no further objection.

---

[2] Bayle's Dict., art. *Manichéisme.* [3] Encyclopédie, art. *Manichéisme.* [4] Timæus. [5] Eloge de M. Leibnitz, Hist. de l'Académie des Sciences, an. 1616.

It has been urged, as the grand objection to the doctrine of optimism[6], that it denies the freedom of the Deity, who is described as choosing of necessity that world, which approaches nearest to absolute perfection. Mallebranche, a zealous partisan of the doctrine, could find no other solution of the difficulty, than that the Deity was free to have not acted at all. But a more obviously formidable objection is, that it belongs not to man to determine what is the best, which is possible for a being of infinite perfection. For this it would be necessary, by the acknowledgment of Leibnitz himself, that the high-priest of Jupiter should discover to us the palace of the Destinies, and exhibit all the models of possible creation. We may be able to ascertain that every thing, however in itself evil, tends in its consequences to good, though utterly incompetent to determine what is absolutely the best. The distinction is important, and seems to be fatal to the doctrine of optimism.

This doctrine attracted the satire of Voltaire, who has ridiculed it in his story of Candide. Independently indeed of any objection of a philosophical nature, it was in his time sufficiently discredited by the principle of piety, on which it was founded. It had therefore been completely exploded, when the grand and interesting crisis of the French revolution had opened the minds of philosophical men to large and splendid views of future improvement; and another system became necessary, for satisfying the desire of comprehending the moral scheme of the history of men. Condorcet accordingly, amidst the worst horrors of that bloody struggle, meditated on the doctrine of perfectibility. The work, in which this doctrine is maintained, is a most extraordinary example of the energy of philosophical enthusiasm, or rather of an intellectual heroism, which, disregarding present and personal suffering, could indulge itself in the contemplation of the felicity of future generations. The author, proscribed by a sanguinary faction[7], and driven to the extreme of human misery, had thought of composing a vindication of his principles and conduct; but, disdaining to proceed in an undertaking relative only to himself, he determined to bequeath to posterity his persuasion of the future perfection of his species.

---

[6] Encyclopédie, art. *Manichéisme.*

Condorcet reduced his speculations of perfection to three objects[8]; the destruction of inequality between different nations, the progress of equality in one and the same nation, and the intrinsic improvement of individual men. In respect to each of these he contended that nature has fixed no limit to our advances. In regard to the third and last of them, he maintained that, though the native energy of the human understanding should not be augmented, yet the mass of knowledge would be indefinitely enlarged, and that new modes of instruction, improving with the improvement of knowledge, would even increase the facility of the acquisition. Man however he thought susceptible of a physical and moral perfectibility. He did not indeed venture to suppose, that immortality would ever be actually attained; but he presumed that the duration of human life would be extended beyond any assignable limit.

To this extravagant system Condorcet himself discovered an objection in the possible limitation of the means of subsistence[9]. The mode of obviating it he has not explicitly stated; but he has intimated that the remedy should be sought in preventing the undue increase of the number of the species, by some means which our present notions of morality would condemn. The same difficulty has since been considered, though without a reference to his doctrine, by Mr. Malthus[10], who has sought a remedy in the influence of moral restraint, preventing an excessive number of marriages. To the necessity of this remedy Mr. Sadler has recently opposed a new doctrine, that[11], without any such restraint, the prolific power of the species will be diminished as population is increased, so that the number shall be naturally adjusted to the means of subsistence.

Though both these doctrines are exposed to unanswerable objections, each seems to have some real foundation in truth and nature. With Leibnitz every reflecting man will be disposed to

[7] Outlines of an Hist. View. of the Progress of the Human Mind, pref. Dublin, 1796. [8] Ibid., pp. 257, &c. [9] Outlines of an Hist. View, &c., pp. 279, 280. [10] Essay on the Principle of Population.

[11] Ireland, its Evils, and their Remedies. London, 1829.

acknowledge that good predominates over evil, though he would not venture to pronounce with him, that every thing is actually the best, which a being of infinite perfection is able to accomplish. With Condorcet, whoever reviews the history of the world, must be satisfied that, however retrograde the species may sometimes appear, there is yet a general progress of improvement in human affairs; and that it is reasonable to believe, that this progress may in future ages be greatly extended, though his wild speculations of general equality, and of the organic perfectibility of man, must be rejected. If therefore any new system should be devised, it ought to be so constructed, as to include a partial correspondence to each of these two, embracing so much of truth as each of them contained, and excluding the extravagancies, with which that truth was blended.

In the system here offered to the public, it is proposed to illustrate, agreeably to the doctrine of optimism, the general prevalence of good, and, in correspondence to that of perfectibility, the general progress of human improvement. But that, by which it is essentially characterised, is what may be denominated dramatic combination. The view which it presents is, that while a general prevalence of good, and a general progress of improvement, are discoverable in the combinations of the events of history, these events do also appear to constitute one great drama of the divine government, all the parts of which are, with a strict unity of action, subordinate and conducive to the result. If such a system can be satisfactorily established, the history of the world will assume the character of that of a single, but various nation, embracing numerous provinces, each of which has its own local and separate interests, but is yet subjected to the influence of the connexion, by which it is united to the rest, and involved with them in a general tendency to a common catastrophe. Human history, if it can be invested with this character, will not only acquire a simplicity, which is in every subject of enquiry delightful to the mind, but will lead our thoughts directly to the contemplation of the unity, and wisdom, and goodness of the Deity. That God is one, and wise, and good, is the conclusion of the philosopher, who surveys the arrangement of the material world. The same would be the conviction of the political enquirer, if he could discover that the agencies of men have been combined, like those of material nature, and that wisdom and goodness alike characterise the combination.

The relations of the general system of human society, which it is here proposed to exhibit, may often be such, in which no mutual influence is at all discoverable, but merely a common tendency to the same result. It may however be easily conceived, that the depression of one government, and the prosperity of another, though not connected by any direct political agency, may yet be parts of one comprehensive plan of moral government, as they may severally tend to the same issue. The compulsory union of Portugal with Spain exposed its Indian dependencies to hostile attack, just when the new-formed states of the Dutch republic were ready for the aggression. The political degradation of the Spanish government, freeing France from a struggle for continental empire, and Britain from commercial competition, left these two governments at liberty to maintain, by mutual opposition, the balanced policy of Europe.

As the whole of human society is considered as a system, the parts of which are bound together in mutual relations, so is each community considered as itself a moral system, deriving its active powers from its component individuals, and reciprocally communicating to these individuals its collective influence. Every community, or state, must therefore be considered as possessing a two-fold activity, as it acts either upon the general system of human society, or upon the human beings, of which it is itself constituted. In either view a government must be considered as an instrument of the moral providence of God, to be maintained in efficiency, or to be reduced to weakness and decay, to be aggrandised by accession of territory, or to be broken up and destroyed, as may suit his purposes. The revolutions of history are the processes, by which these instruments are altered and adjusted.

The study of history, prosecuted agreeably to these principles, is an attempt to discover traces of design and combination in those numerous changes, which, however disorderly and unconnected they may at first appear, must all have been really combined with perfect wisdom, if we acknowledge the reality of a divine superintendence. The study of material nature, in which so much wise and beneficent contrivance is everywhere discovered, is not so directly interesting to reasonable creatures, as that of the moral providence, to which they are themselves subject. It was necessary indeed that a very long period of time should be suffered to elapse, before the combinations of the moral government of God could be satisfactorily discovered in their results. At this time however it may perhaps be found, that much of the difficulty has been removed, and that the tendencies of the past measures of the divine government, however inexplicable they must formerly have appeared, may now be clearly discerned.

For analysing the revolutions of history it is manifestly necessary, that political agencies should be reduced to their several classes, since we should not otherwise be able to form a distinct judgment of the causes concerned in the production of any event. These agencies are some general, and some contingent;

and in the consideration of them writers of different descriptions have gone into opposite extremes. Those, who have undertaken to treat civil society as a subject of philosophical research, have been anxious to reduce its changes, as much as possible, to the regularity of science, and have therefore depreciated the importance of the contingent causes, which occasionally disturb their uniformity. Those, on the other hand, whose object has been to display their ingenuity as historians, not as framers of a philosophic system, have been inclined to represent every incident, as the effect of particular causes proportioned to the magnitude of the consequences, and every individual concerned in it as exercising an important influence on the result. Too great a love of simplicity on the one part, and too much refinement on the other, have in this, as in other enquiries, embarrassed and obstructed the progress of the mind; and the true method of considering history appears to consist in combining the operation of more limited and contingent agency with those more general influences, which introduce so much uniformity into political revolutions.

It has been somewhere remarked by Montesquieu, that if a particular event, as the loss of a battle, be the ruin of a state, there must have been a more general reason, why the loss of a battle should ruin it. The Norman conquest of England may furnish a satisfactory example of this remark, since the battle of Hastings would not have been followed by so great a revolution, if various predisposing causes had not prepared the kingdom for the change. Different classes of political causes should therefore be constituted; and, while a principal importance is ascribed to those of a general nature, which affect our whole species, however circumstanced, a due regard should also be given to those more limited, and even personal agencies, which diversify their operation.

The causes hitherto assigned for political events do not form a perfect enumeration, or at least have not been stated with sufficient precision and distinctness. These causes appear to be all reducible to six classes: 1. universal; 2. local; 3. personal; 4. adventitious; 5. existing institutions; and 6. external compression.

The principal of these classes is that, which has been placed first in order, and has been denominated the class of universal causes, as comprehending those consisting in that common constitution of human nature, which, if not counteracted, or modified by others, would determine men uniformly to adopt a similar conduct in similar circumstances. Because those causes are thus counteracted, or modified, political predictions are proverbially fallacious; but it does not follow from this consideration, that they have not had their operation, since the influence of the counteracting or modifying agencies would have been much greater, and their effects more important, or more direct, if these had not acted. Hume has even undertaken to prove particularly[12], that there are in politics some principles almost as general and certain, as those of the mathematical sciences. Of these he has alleged as examples the following propositions:—that an hereditary prince, a nobility without vassals, and a people voting by their representatives, form respectively the best monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; and that, though free governments have been commonly the most happy for those, who partake of their freedom, yet are they the most oppressive and ruinous to the provinces.

The second class of political causes, comprehending those which have been denominated local, admits a fourfold subdivision, these causes belonging to the climate, the soil, the extent, and the geographical situation and circumstances, of the territory occupied by a nation.

Whether the influence of climate should be admitted among political considerations, is a question which has been much and vehemently agitated. Montesquieu was so decidedly of opinion, that the varieties of climate have an important relation to the laws and constitutions of political society, that he infers from them a corresponding diversity in the regulations necessary for public control. His system is that the cold of northern climates, by bracing the fibres of the body[13], communicates vigour and boldness to the mind, whereas, he thinks, the relaxed organization of the inhabitants of the southern countries must be connected with a passive acquiescence of character, fitting them to yield to domestic usurpation, or to foreign conquest. Volney has formally controverted this opinion of Montesquieu in the conclusion of his Syrian and Egyptian Travels; and bishop da Cunha, in his Essay on the Commerce of Portugal, has particularly opposed to it the vigour of the Brasilian Indians. Many authorities indeed concur to prove, that weakness of frame is not the characteristic of a southern climate. Link describes the southern Europeans as capable of induring more fatigue than those of the north[14]. Riesbeck contends earnestly for the superiority of the people of the south[15]. Jackson also says that the Arabians near Bussora have twice the strength of Europeans[16].

The opinion of Aristotle, who appears to have first noticed the influence of climate, seems to be most just. He regarded the temperate[17], not the northern regions, as those in which the powers of man are best developed, and the highest perfection of his qualities is attained, the extremes of temperature being, as he conceived, unfavourable at once to his mental, and to his bodily constitution. This opinion has been adopted and illustrated by Ferguson[18], one of those who have best speculated on the progressive improvement of society. It is certain, that in the temperate climates the human figure is distinguished by a majesty, unknown to the inhabitants of the more northern and the more southern regions; and it is reasonable to infer, that the mental qualities are generally there most perfect, where the powers of the body are found in their greatest perfection. The Laplander and the Negro, on the other hand, exhibit so degraded a resemblance of the man of the temperate regions, as reduces us to the alternative of either maintaining that they belong to separate races, or of admitting an influence of climate capable of causing this striking degeneracy.

---

[12] Essays Moral, Political, and Literary; part I., essay iii.

[13] Esprit des Loix, liv. xiv. et xvii.

[14] Journey through Portugal, p. 129. London, 1801.

[15] Travels through Germany, vol. ii. pp. 260—269. Dublin, 1787.

[16] Journey to India Over-land, p. 36. London, 1799.

[17] Polit. lib. vii. et Prob., sect. 14.

With this supposition, of the natural superiority of temperate regions, the facts noticed by Montesquieu are perfectly reconcilable. Conquests have commonly proceeded from the north, not because the northern people were a superior race, but because by the natural disadvantages of their situation, they were retained in a rude barbarism, which gave to them a relative superiority over nations corrupted by the abuses of civilisation. That they have not equally proceeded from the south, may be explained partly from the geographical distribution of the world, which has on that side less exposed the temperate regions to the vicinity of barbarians; perhaps chiefly from this, that warm climates do not create the same necessity of migrating to the temperate for subsistence. When however an extraordinary impulse operated, to direct to conquest the passions of southern barbarians, the result has been not less striking than the achievements of those of the north. When Mohammed inspired the Arabs with fanaticism, the south poured forth its armies of conquerors, and in its turn, chastised the corruptions of perverted improvement,

Though however climate may be regarded as a cause influencing the characters and interests of nations, it is not maintained, that such a cause must overbear the agency of all others, and irresistibly determine the fortunes of mankind. Moral causes must on the contrary be considered as generally predominant. Of the superior influence of moral causes perhaps the most decisive example is the literary distinction of the bards of Iceland, the dreary winters of which forlorn residence are still cheered by the lingering rays of its declining genius[19]. How powerfully these operate, either for good or for evil, Oliver has illustrated by observations made in the Grecian islands[20], having found the Greek of Lesbos deceitful, rude, timid, ignorant, superstitious, and poor, and the Greek of Scio, honest, civil, bold, industrious, witty, intelligent, and rich; in the latter case various privileges had been conceded for encouraging the trade of mastic, which is produced in Scio, and is destined for the seraglio of the sultan; in the former the most frightful despotism had oppressed the inhabitants without any mitigation.

---

[18] Essay on the Hist. of Civil Society, part iii. sect. 1.

[19] Travels of Sir George Mackenzie, ch. vii.

The influence of soil consists in acting variously on the mind by the opposite qualities of fertility and barrenness. The facility of subsistence, caused by fertility of soil, naturally disposes the mind to an indolent enjoyment of conveniences easily procured, while, on the other hand, the laborious exertion, necessary for compensating the deficiencies of a sterile situation, gives it an habitual energy, which urges it forward with unwearied activity[21]. The extreme operation of these influences may be discerned in the passive subjection of the richer countries of the east, compared with the unconquerable independence of the tribes, which from the earliest ages have possessed in freedom the deserts of Arabia. The same cause, in the intermediate cases, produces correspondent effects. It has accordingly been remarked by Montesquieu[22], that monarchy is more frequently found in fruitful countries, and a republican government in those of a contrary description. Agreeably to this observation he has ascribed the origin of the Athenian democracy to the barrenness of the territory, and to the fertility of Laconia its aristocratical constitution, which approached as near to the government of a single person, as Grecian jealousy would permit. We may therefore consider ourselves as partly indebted to the sterility of Attica, for the taste which has refined, and for the philosophy which has instructed mankind.

But, though fertility of soil is in its general operation adverse

[20] Travels in the Ottoman Empire, vol. ii. pp. 108, 109. London, 1801.

[21] *Curis acuens mortalia corda.*—Virg. Georg., lib. i. 123. Lord Brougham has remarked, that the mercantile splendour of Holland has been the consequence, not of any natural advantages, but of a great variety of defects in climate and situation.—Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers, vol. i. p. 282. Edinb. 1803. Mr. Davis has further remarked, that the industry and advancement of nations has appeared in some measure to depend on a certain proportion between their necessities and their natural resources; and that, as the equinoctial regions are too spontaneously genial and fertile, the arctic are too unkindly barren, so that the temperate zone is the proper scene of human improvement.—The Chinese, etc., vol. i. Introd. pp. 7, 8. Lond. 1836.

[22] Esprit des Lois, liv. xviii. ch. i.

to exertion and improvement, it appears to have produced an opposite effect in the infancy of society, the earliest refinements of civilised life having existed in the fertile countries of the east. It seems that[23], for commencing the social improvement of men, their situation must be such, that a considerable number of individuals should be brought together, and that they should by the facility of subsistence be placed in the possession of some degree of leisure. Soon indeed the ordinary influence of ease begins to check the progress of society, the corruption which it engenders, being subject to the rigorous coercion of that despotic authority, to which it disposes men to submit; and the office of maturing the powers of the human mind is transferred to the inhabitants of countries less favoured by nature, and therefore fitted to form them by laborious and persevering exertion. The southern countries of Asia have been the cradle, but others less abundant have been the school of genius.

A third important circumstance of local situation is the extent of territory, which has been, as it were, marked out by the hand of nature, for the dominion of a single community. The seas, and rivers, and mountains, which divide this globe into portions of so various magnitudes, must not be regarded as merely diversifying its surface. They constitute the natural boundaries of states, and thus exercise a considerable influence in determining the extent of territory, and the aggregate of population, which shall be subject to the same government. So far then as different modifications of government will appear to be most suited to communities of different degrees of territory and population, in the same proportion, all other circumstances remaining the same, will the political arrangements of the world correspond to its natural distribution. As the numerous and scattered inhabitants of an extensive country are less capable of co-operating in the public measures of a state, they both require, and admit, a political constitution more fitted for control, than would be either necessary or practicable, in a smaller community, the members of which could be more easily actuated by a common feeling. The widely extended plains of Asia have accordingly been in all times the theatre of despotic governments; the little districts of Greece were, while the energies of Greece could operate, the seats of republican freedom: and the larger, though still moderate portions, of western Europe have been, since civilisation has introduced into them the habits of political co-operation, subjected to governments modified in various degrees between the extremes of despotism and democracy.

The remaining division of local influences is that which relates to geographical situation and circumstances, in respect of the sea, rivers, mountains, or level country. The inhabitants of plains are different materials for political combinations from those of mountainous regions; and the vicinity of the sea, by presenting the opportunity of maritime enterprise, must constitute another variety. Plutarch has furnished a remarkable and well-known example[24] of this distinction. In that tumultuous period of the Athenian state, which immediately preceded the legislation of Solon, there were, he has observed, as many parties among the people, as there were different tracts of land in the country, the inhabitants of the mountains being desirous of a democracy, those of the plains being anxious for an oligarchy, and those of the sea-coast contending for a mixed government. The security of a mountainous situation inspires a feeling of independence, which cannot be equally experienced by the exposed inhabitants of the open country, while the inhabitants of a coast combine with the submissive spirit of an exposed situation the energy derived from the activity of commerce. The distribution of property also is naturally different in the three cases, and this difference must influence the political character of the people. In mountainous tracts there is rarely found that great inequality of possessions, which in level countries creates a necessary subordination; and in maritime situations the changing nature of commercial wealth, though it gives being to unequal fortunes, yet opens to every man the opportunity of affluence, and precludes the settled authority of ancient and hereditary property.

---

[23] Enquiries, Historical and Moral, respecting the Character of Nations, and the Progress of Society, by Hugh Murray.

In regard to this description of local causes it will be asked, whether it is conceivable that political importance should be attached to every hill or river, which diversifies the surface of a country? Perhaps the answer may be best collected from the philosophy of Newton[25]. When that philosopher maintained, that the attraction of the entire mass of the earth was the sum of the several attractions of its component parts, it occurred as a difficulty that, according to this principle, the attraction of a mountain should be perceptible; but in reply to the objection, he urged, that such an attraction ought to be small in the proportion, in which the mountain is less than the earth, and that such an inconsiderable attraction might perhaps be actually perceived by future observers. The prediction of the philosopher has been fulfilled by Maskelyne, who discovered the influence of the mountain Schehallien in Scotland[26], by the effect produced upon the plumb-line of his quadrant. It seems reasonable to give a corresponding answer to the political objector. These lesser features of geography can only claim an importance proportioned to their magnitude, and this importance it may yet be found that they generally possess. In the case also of political observation it may be even more reasonable to look forward to future discovery, because political combinations are in their nature progressive, and the time may not have yet arrived, when the influence of a particular mountain or river should be actually exerted. The mountain, which for ages has been but an idle solitude, may at length furnish some community with the principle of its independence: the river, which has long flowed to the sea in useless obscurity, may yet supply the spring of industry and improvement: and each may, in some future conflict, determine the fortunes of nations, and influence the political relations of the world.

---

[24] Vita Solonis.

[25] Princ. Matth. Phil. Nat., lib. ii. pr. 7, cor. 1.

[26] Phil. Trans. for 1775, p. 500.

The third class of political causes includes the influences of the personal qualities and circumstances of individuals. This class those, who speculate on political subjects, seem generally desirous to exclude, because they interrupt the regularity of analogical reasoning by the introduction of contingencies, which cannot be reduced to settled principles, and thereby deprive political philosophy of that uniformity of application, which they are anxious to establish. But, if the general nature of political principles be founded only on the presumed uniformity of the character and conduct of individuals, every deviation from this uniformity must induce a correspondent modification of the principle connected with it, for which a due allowance ought to be made.

It is indeed true, that the operation of the same general causes must diffuse over a community a general uniformity of character. If however we believe that there is a native vigour in the human soul, which may be influenced, but is not necessarily controlled and subdued, by external agencies, we must be prepared to find, in the changes of society, some effects of the peculiarities, by which individuals are discriminated. Many have been the leading individuals, who were the mere pageants of their situations; but what influence of situation could have formed a Charlemagne, or an Alfred? The subtlety or the weakness, the passion or the caprice, of any powerful individual, or even the craft or inadvertence of some subordinate agent, may decisively determine the most important concerns of a people. In the first struggle of the English reformation the unusual precipitation of the Roman cardinals[27], combined with the accidental delay of a carrier, frustrated a plan of reconciliation, which would have retained the English monarch in his connexion with the see of Rome. In Ireland the design of a bloody persecution was defeated by the address of an innkeeper[28], who stole the commission, and substituted in its place a pack of cards. The enthusiasm of the Maid of Orleans effected, not only what did not belong to her age and situation, but what perhaps could not have been effected by any other agency; a Genoese mariner, with the persevering ardour of genius, wrought a revolution in the entire system of the world, by the discovery of a western continent: and the inventor of the steam-engine is entitled to be regarded as a political agent, who established the manufacturing greatness of the British empire, soon to be the bulwark of the liberties of men. Among sovereigns too minorities and matrimonial alliances are often important to the public interests, and in some governments the difference of sex. Austria has been notoriously distinguished by the acquisitions derived from matrimonial alliances[29].

---

[27] Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. part I. book ii. p. 131. London, 1715.

[28] Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 214, note. Dublin, 1773.

The consideration of personal causes relates to an object different from that, to which the other classes of political causes belong, for by them the providential agency of the Deity in the government of the world appears to be maintained. Political causes of every class may indeed be considered as originally constituted by the appointment of God, when he framed the moral system of human society; but the peculiarities of individual agency must be considered as continuing to depend upon the determination of the supreme ruler, who, for the accomplishment of his purposes, raises up from time to time, and removes according to his high pleasure, appropriate agents, distinguished from the mass of mankind by virtues or vices, by genius or imbecility, perhaps only by age or connexion. A manifest advantage may be discerned in the occasional combination of these contingent causes, with those which are permanent and uniform in their operation, as they lead the observer of human events to the consideration of him, who *ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever he will.* They rouse the mind from the dull and unthinking lethargy, which the uniformity of the divine administration is so apt to occasion, as the comet, by the eccentricity of its course, attests the freedom of that being, who gave so much regularity to the planetary system.

Perhaps indeed, in an extended view of the providential administration of the moral world, it would be found, that much of the influences of individual peculiarities consists rather in accelerating, than in disposing events. When the materials of a new government require to be brought into combination, some peculiarly characterised agent is often brought forward, whose qualities especially adapt him to the office: when a state is sinking in decay, the character of its ruler is frequently marked by a weakness or corruption, exceeding that which might be regarded as the natural result of the circumstances of a declining dynasty: and, when a portion of some great government is to be separated from the rest, and formed into a distinct community, individual irritation and imbecility are not seldom found to anticipate the operation of general causes, by accelerating the dismemberment. The agency of peculiarly characterised individuals is indeed the enginery, by which God, in his providence, controls the regular operations of the moral world; but it seems to be frequently employed in analogy to the laws, by which those operations are usually governed, not disturbing the course of human affairs by extraordinary and anomalous revolutions, but hastening the changes, which might have been naturally, though more slowly effected, and thus accomplishing more rapidly the plans of wisdom and goodness.

---

[29] Agreeably to the well-known epigram attributed to Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary:—

Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube;
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.

The fourth class, or that of adventitious causes, comprehends those influences, which have been communicated from one country to another, whether the communication is made by the migration of men, or of opinions. These are entitled to be regarded as new causes, effecting new operations in human society, when they have in any manner been transferred to communities, circumstanced differently from those in which they had originated. Of the influence of the migration of men an example may be taken from the communication of the arts of civilised life to the rude inhabitants of early Greece, by the colonists of Egypt and Phœnicia; and, for modern times, from the various and important effects produced by the irruptions of the barbarous tribes of the north. Of that of the migration of opinions a very remarkable one may be derived from the fortune of the imposture of Mohammed, which was originated in the peculiar circumstances of Arabia, was diffused by conquest into countries, in which it could not have arisen, was then voluntarily adopted by the Tatar conquerors of those countries in their ignorance of a better religion, and has continued to this day the support of a political despotism among the Turks, while the hordes of Arabia wander over their deserts in their primitive liberty. The influence of ancient literature on modern governments may supply another instance of the migration of opinions, the learning of Greece and Rome having introduced a republican education into the monarchies of modern Europe, and having thereby contributed to form that spirit of moderated subordination, which has fostered liberty where it existed, and has in some degree supplied its place, where it was unknown. These causes too may operate through the agency of individuals, or their writings. Thus

Volney thinks it probable[30], that the conquest of Asia, achieved by Alexander, may have sprung from the perusal of the poem of Homer; but regards as certain, that the history of Alexander, composed by Quintus Curtius, was the moving principle of the enterprise of Charles XII. of Sweden, which terminated in establishing the greatness of Russia.

The class of existing institutions, like that immediately preceding, contains influences, which, though originally derived from other causes, become principles in their subsequent operation, because, in the continued existence of governments, under a change of circumstances, they may operate in cases, in which they could not have been at first established. Laws and institutions survive the occasions and circumstances, which gave them being, and then act upon the society, in which they have been established, sometimes for its advantage, in other cases to its injury. To the influence of the laws of Crete and Laconia it has been ascribed[31], that the latter was the last Grecian state, which became a prey to the Macedonians, and the former the last, which submitted to the Romans. The violent convulsion, which overthrew the monarchy of France, was on the other hand the result of the continuance of the exclusive privileges of the nobility in a period of the government, in which the commons had become qualified to aspire to the possession of a large share of political importance. This class of causes corresponds to that inertness, which in mechanical operations maintains an impulse once communicated, until it is changed, or destroyed, by some other power.

In the last class are included those influences, which act from without, and serve to give combination and vigour to political society. This subject has been partly considered by Ferguson, who has justly observed[32] that, without the rivalship of nations, and the practice of war, civil society itself could scarcely have found an object, or a form; and that we should expect in vain to give to the multitude of a people a sense of union among themselves, if we were not assisted by the operation of foreign hostility. War, however it may shock the feelings of humanity, is the great principle of social combination. The selfishness of individuals is suppressed in the anxiety to strengthen the united effort of a community for the general protection; and the public spirit of a nation, weak and inefficient while produced only by the kindly sympathies of our nature, is excited to its utmost energy, when the necessity of resisting external enemies has combined with them the acrimonious dispositions of the heart.

---

[30] Leçon's d'Histoire, pp. 224, 225. Paris, an. 8.

[31] Esprit des Lois, liv. iv. ch. 6.

[32] Essay on the History of Civil Society, part i. sect. 4.

This principle is in the moral, that which repulsion is in the material world; and, though the aggregation of a society is begun by the mutual attraction of the social qualities of men, yet to the repulsion of some other combination of men must it be indebted for the consistency[33], which gives it the unity of a people, and brings into activity the powers which it contains. In the period of national difficulty the general intellect of the community appears to dilate itself into a nobler magnitude. The hero and the statesman alone are called to conduct the defence of the country; but a sympathetic ardour is communicated from class to class, and the philosopher with his eagle-ken penetrates into the secrets of nature, the poet with the glance of imagination catches bright visions of an ideal world, the artist infuses into matter the sensibility and the intelligence of moral existence.

The object of the present work being to illustrate a providential government of human affairs, it is necessary to obviate an objection, to which it is apparently exposed, that it represents our actions as controlled by a moral necessity. This, however, cannot be justly imputed to the system here proposed. It represents the Almighty as preparing and directing the combinations of human affairs by his fore-knowledge, without interfering with the freedom of his creatures. It describes him as sending into the world for his own purposes human agents variously endowed, and removing them as those purposes may require; and as foreseeing the conduct of the agents whom he thus introduces, with all its results, but in no case as controlling that conduct by direct interposition. If we believe in prophecy, we must admit the prescience of God, and this alone is assumed.

---

[33] The case of the Jewish nation, like other exceptions, serves to establish the rule. As that nation was to be taught to depend, not upon itself, but upon God, it was withdrawn from the agency of others, and disciplined in the solitudes of Arabia by special interpositions.

The visitation of the universal deluge, which was never to be repeated, may furnish another illustration. We have reason to infer from several particulars, that political society did not properly exist before the time of Nimrod, the cause of which probably was the extraordinary longevity of the antediluvians, which, while it supported the authority of tradition, precluded the excitement afforded by the probability of speedy succession to advantages actually enjoyed by other men. We have indeed reason to believe, that the descendants of Cain were separated from the remainder of their species, and thus driven away from the main source of patriarchal authority; and may conjecture that this separation, as it threw them more upon their own exertions, favoured the invention of the useful arts, which is recorded to have been begun among them. Their remoteness from patriarchal control would at the same time have given occasion to a degeneracy of morals, so that, when the two races became united by intermarriages, this being probably the meaning of the union of *the sons of God* with *the daughters of men*, a corruption of manners began generally to prevail, which required to be corrected by a calamity destructive of the whole species, except a single family, which transmitted the acquired improvement without the corruption. In this case nation could not be disciplined by nation, because political society did not yet exist. The length of human life was then rapidly reduced, political society began to form distinct nations, and another deluge could not become necessary. The comparative refinement of the descendants of Cain may have been the cause of the attractiveness ascribed to *the daughters of men*.

MODERN HISTORY.

BOOK I.

REVIEW OF MODERN HISTORY FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, IN THE YEAR 476, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Predispositions to the combinations of modern history.

THE period to be reviewed in this treatise extends from the suppression of the western empire in the year 476 of the Christian era, to the commencement of the revolution of France in the year 1789, a period exceeding thirteen centuries, and so distinguished from preceding events by one great convulsion, and from those which have already followed, or may hereafter follow, by another, as to present a vast number of events which may be studied as a whole. Of this great period it is to be shown, that all the transactions which it comprehends, however diversified, and however destitute of direct connection, have yet been instrumental to a common result, in the improvement of the social condition of men.

Before these transactions are examined in their detail, it is necessary to enquire into the predispositions, by which preparation may have been made for the general improvement of society; for it is not conceivable that God should have willed this improvement, without so disposing the circumstances of nations as to qualify them for the attainment.

In this enquiry an observation presents itself, which belongs indeed to the whole extent of human history, as it relates to the whole surface of the terraqueous globe. It is apparent, at the first inspection of a map of the earth, that almost the whole of the dry land is included in the northern hemisphere, instead of being equally distributed, as might naturally have been expected, between the northern and southern regions. On the one side of the equator, therefore, is almost the entire scene of human activity, while the other is almost wholly abandoned to a waste of waters. This observation bears a remarkable correspondence to the system of unity in the moral government of God, which it is proposed to establish. If climate be, as has been stated, one of the causes affecting and modifying human society, a unity of plan requires that there should not be two distinct and yet corresponding sets of climates, comprehending equal portions of land and water similarly distributed. Two systems of countries would, in such a case, be formed instead of one; the temperate region of a southern system would at length oppose its improvement to that of the temperate region of the north; and the unavoidable collision of two interfering combinations, while it obstructed the further improvement of each, would confound every conception of a common superintendence, controlling and combining their operations. Such a collision is, however, effectually precluded by the actual distribution of the surface of the earth, as provision has been made for the ultimate establishment of but a single system. The habitations of men are comprised under a single set of climates, those belonging to the other hemisphere being too inconsiderable in extent of land to be more than appendages to the rest; and, while only so much of the water has been admitted into the northern region as might be necessary for the convenience of its countries, the southern has been constituted the grand repository of this element.

With that part of the general distribution of the surface, which has relation to the transactions of ancient history, the present treatise has no concern. Western Europe, as the special theatre of the various improvements to be now examined, demands a principal share of attention; and the remoter countries of the world are then to be considered as its appendages.

Western Europe is singularly fitted by its local circumstances, not only for forming within itself a very improved condition of social existence, but also for becoming the moral centre, from which this improvement should be ultimately spread over the earth. Placed almost wholly within[1] temperate climates, it possesses the original advantage ascribed to such a situation; more intersected by water than any other large portion of the world, it presents the greatest possible excitement to human activity; naturally divided into territories of moderate dimensions, it favours that limitation of dominion which is salutary to the civil liberties of men; and, bordering the Mediterranean on the one side, and the ocean on the other, it enjoys the most diversified means of communication. In these our islands, too, it seems to have been furnished with an organ peculiarly accommodated to both purposes of forming, and of communicating, a system of social improvement, as they are especially fitted for the former by their peculiar magnitude and the security of their situation, and for the latter by those maritime circumstances of situation, which fitted them for establishing a maritime empire, and becoming connected with the most distant regions of the globe.

It is indeed to be observed, that western Europe is not only fitted generally to excite and to improve the activities of men, but also naturally adapted to become, for a time, the theatre of two distinct but unequal combinations of states, such as we know to have actually existed within this region. While a large portion of it advances, as a great peninsula, between the Mediterranean and the ocean, the remote regions of the north have their separate Mediterranean, round which it was natural that a separate, though a less important, combination of governments should for a time be constituted, between them being placed that open communication for the barbarian nations, in which, as D'Anville[2] has remarked of the extended plains of Tatary, 'they were moved about like the billows of an agitated sea.' That such a double formation should have existed we may now understand, since the distinctness of the two combinations was terminated at the close of the struggles of the French revolution; for we may now reasonably collect, that the object of the smaller and less perfect combination of the north was to prepare that great power of Russia, which mainly assisted in overthrowing the colossal despotism of France. Even the rude inferiority of the chief power of the secondary combination appears to have contributed to the success of its interposition; for a people so little advanced in refinement was safe from the contagion of political and moral corruption, and a country so little improved could with less injury sustain the ravages of its formidable invaders.

---

[1] Asia, on the other hand, can scarcely be said to have a temperate climate, the frigid zone of climate reaching even to the fortieth degree of latitude, and the temperature from this limit to the Indian ocean being higher than in Europe.—Smith, on the Complexion and Figure of the Human Species, p. 14, Edinb. 1788. It seems as if a temperate region had been superfluous to a continent designed for maintaining the infancy and childhood of our species. Such a region does indeed exist in the lesser Asia; but this peninsula was one of the conduits of the early improvement of the more eastern region in its passage to Europe, and was adapted to foster it for the transition.

The continent of Africa, nowhere penetrated by gulfs, and little intersected by rivers, is, in its physical character, contrasted to the European continent, to which it is locally opposed. The great mass of its population has, accordingly, exhibited none of that mental activity, by which the inhabitants of Europe have been characterised. The Mediterranean coast, indeed, has, in various ages, been rendered subservient to the advancement of European civilisation. The early refinement of Egypt gave to Greece the first rudiments of arts and institutions; the military spirit of Carthage, combined as it was with maritime enterprise, disciplined to foreign conquest the growing empire of Rome; the Christian church, early established in the same part of the continent, sustained an important

[2] Etats formés en Europe après la Chute de l'Empire R., p. 260. Paris, 1771.

part in the formation of that of western Europe; and the Mohammedan states, afterwards established on this coast, constituted a chain of communication, by which, in a later period, the empire of the Arabians acted upon the modern system of the west. This instrumentality of the African coast appears, however, to have been guarded by the interposition of extensive deserts between it and the interior countries, the progress of civilisation having been in this manner effectually diverted from wasting itself upon an African population, and directed towards the region in which it might be beneficially received.

In the general commerce of the world, the middle regions of Africa appear to have borne the same burthen, which, in each particular society, falls upon the inferior orders. The less improved countries of the world have indeed, in all ages, supplied the others with slaves. Accordingly, in that most curious account of the trade of Tyre, which is given by the prophet Ezekiel,[3] slaves are mentioned as imported from Greece and the coasts of the Black-sea. Africa may, however, be regarded as the permanent repository of servile labour, because least susceptible of civilisation. The African slave-trade[4] has accordingly been shown to be a system of no modern date; and though, in modern times, the wants of America have carried away far the greatest numbers, yet a considerable traffic[5] of the same kind is regularly managed on the eastern side of the continent with the Mohammedan nations.

---

[3] Ch. xxvii. v. 13. [4] Leo Africanus says, book vii. 'The king of Borno sent for the merchants of Barbary, and willed them to bring him great store of horses; for in this country they used to exchange horses for slaves, and to give fifteen, and sometimes twenty slaves, for one horse; and by this means there were abundance of horses brought; howbeit the merchants were constrained to stay for their slaves till the king returned home conqueror with a great number of captives, and satisfied his creditors for their horses.' He adds, 'The king maketh invasions but every year once, and that at one set and appointed time of the year.'—Geogr. Hist. of Africa, transl. by Pory, pp. 293, 294. Lond. 1600.

[5] 'From Abyssinia the caravans carry yearly to Cairo nearly two thousand negroes, these poor creatures having unfortunately been captured in war. Most of the chiefs and sovereigns in the interior of Africa sell or put to death all their prisoners.'—Narrative of a Ten

To this consideration of the instrumentality of the middle region of Africa it is not necessary that the slave-trade should be justified; it is sufficient that it has existed, and that it was founded upon the local peculiarities of the country, in which it has chiefly prevailed. Great, doubtless, have been the horrors of that commerce, which has annually transplanted so many thousands to the transatlantic regions, stimulated as it was by the avidity of extensive and profitable speculations; and it will for ever crown with glory the British empire that, though its greatness was founded upon its trade, it has voluntarily renounced a traffic so grievously objectionable, and even purchased from other nations their acquiescence in its abolition[6]. But slavery of a milder description seems to be a natural condition of our social progress. Only when improvement has been considerably advanced, can the voluntary industry of the freeman be prudently substituted for the constrained toil of the slave, because then only can such regulations be introduced, as may render a state of freedom consistent with the welfare of the poor. Busbequius[7] for Germany, and Fletcher[8] for Scotland, lamented the mistaken liberality, which, by indiscreetly emancipating the lower classes of the people, had involved them in the miseries of poverty; and the historian[9] of the poor has declared his opinion, that, after all which had been recently urged against slavery, it was probably most objectionable, as creating a class of citizens who have no interest in the prosperity of the society. The political mischief, stated by this writer, is even compensated by another important consideration. It has been remarked

Years' Residence at Tripoli, p. 185. Lond. 1816. In the Journal of the Landers, Timbuctoo is said to be the greatest and most profitable market for slaves, which are taken thence to the states of Barbary, and many to Turkey in Europe.—Journal of an Exped. to the Niger, vol. ii. p. 154. Lond. 1832.

[6] To Spain and Portugal Britain paid on this account, from first to last, £700.000. Portugal however reserved the right of trading in certain places on the coast of Africa, south of the equator.—Rush's Residence at the Court of London, p. 256, Lond 1833.

[7] A G. Busbequii Epist. p. 160. Lugd. Bat. 1633.

[8] Second Discourse concerning the Affairs of Scotland.

[9] State of the Poor, by Sir Frederic Morton Eden, vol. i. p. 11. Lond. 1797.

that, wherever slavery is established, those who are free are most proud and jealous of their freedom, which to them is not merely an enjoyment, but a rank and a privilege. What, therefore, is lost to the public by the degradation of the laborious poor, may thus be supplied by the increased intensity of the independent spirit of their superiors; and in this manner the existence of slavery in the republics of Greece and Italy, while it simplified the processes of their governments, may have contributed to inspire them with that love of liberty, which animated their genius, and is still imbibed in our classical education.

America, which is probably destined to be hereafter the scene of new and important combinations, has already exercised no inconsiderable influence in developing the commercial activity of Europe. The mines of America furnished the means of a considerable extension of the Indian commerce; the great archipelago of the West Indies invited the industry of Europeans to a nearer and more convenient traffic; and the flourishing settlements of the northern continent provided a growing market for the manufacturing skill of Great Britain. Humboldt[10] has justly remarked, that the isthmus of America has been for ages the bulwark of the independence of China and Japan. It does indeed appear to have hitherto preserved those regions from the enterprise of Europeans, which has found elsewhere sufficient occupation; but, perhaps, a further destination of this difficult,[11] though narrow barrier, may be conjectured, as it may seem to have been designed that the commerce of these countries should thereby be reserved for the future aggrandisement of America.

Asia, in nurturing the early improvement of mankind, has, in ancient times, discharged its primary function. To that continent, the improvement which it had so nurtured is, doubtless, in some future period, to be restored, when it shall have been matured in the other regions, to which it had been transmitted; but in the period of time now to be considered, it[12] has been merely subordinate to the arrangements of Europe. It long continued to furnish, by the Arabs of the south, and the Tatars of the north, a force of compression to consolidate the rising system of the west; by presenting an object for the enterprises of the crusaders, it exercised a various influence on the general state and relations of European society; through the Spanish establishments of the Arabians, it conveyed to Christendom the refinement which had characterised the modern kingdom of Persia; and by the trade of Hindostan and China, it has aggrandised the maritime powers of Europe, and especially Great Britain.

---

[10] Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain, vol. i, p. 45. London, 1811. [11] M. de Humboldt has informed us, that nine different parts of the Isthmus of Darien present a probability of a water-communication between the two oceans; and that some communication has, in one of these places, actually existed since the year 1788. But he maintains the impracticability of making such a canal, as would permit the passage of ships capable of sailing from Europe to Asia. Ibid. book i. ch. 2.

From this consideration of the general distribution of the surface of the earth, in correspondence to the transactions of modern history, we now proceed to that of the nations which have been engaged in this great drama, that we may, if it be possible, discover whether they were, in any respects, peculiarly qualified for the parts, which they have severally sustained.

In the first general and indistinct view which we take of the dissolution of the ancient empire of the west, we are disposed to consider it as a melancholy struggle between civilisation and barbarism, in which the latter unhappily prevailed, and thus entailed upon the world a long succession of violence and ignorance. The splendid train of Roman triumphs has pre-occupied our minds with notions of the dignity of the destroyed government; the wisdom of Roman legislation has accustomed us to regard the dominion of ancient Rome, as almost identified with the civilisation of our species; and the adopted literature of Greece has added its captivating brilliancy to the other interesting recollections of Roman greatness and dignity. Opposed to this empire, we conceive a multitude of savage hordes, bursting from regions which they knew not how to cultivate, eagerly possessing themselves of treasures which they knew not how to enjoy, overwhelming in one mingled mass of ruin all the arts, by which human life had been raised so highly above their own low condition, and by their long protracted violences almost obliterating the remembrance of the improvement of preceding ages. A closer inspection will, however, discover to us that the empire had suffered so deep and fatal a degeneracy, that its continuance, if it had been politically practicable, could not, in a moral view, have been desirable; and on the other hand, that the tribes by which it was overpowered, rude and barbarous as they were, possessed those sound and manly qualities which the corrupted slaves of Rome had wholly lost, and were, therefore, fitted to renovate the energies of the empire, and to prepare it for assuming another and a better form. The great struggle then between the Roman empire and the northern nations, instead of appearing to be the mere conflict of civilisation and barbarism, should present itself to us as the salutary combination of two dissimilar portions of mankind, one of which possessed, though in degeneracy and decay[13], the elements of social improvement; the other, amidst all the rudeness of unsettled wildness, was yet characterised by those native energies of mind, which had been destroyed in the corruptions of civilised society.

---

[12] This was by Euripides, dated from the fall of Troy: *Ασίαν Ευρώπας θεράπναν.* Hecuba, 479, 480.

The decay of the Roman empire[14] is represented to have arisen out of the long peace and prosperity, which it enjoyed in the period denominated the age of the Antonines, and ending in the year 180. The minds of men, destitute of the strong excitement of political agitation, were reduced to a dull and spiritless torpor, which disqualified them for exertion of every kind. To the benumbing influence of long-continued tranquillity was added, however, the constraint of an arbitrary government. Longinus[15] has accordingly represented the genius of his contemporaries, in the succeeding century, as cramped and contracted, like the limbs of children which have been confined by bandages. The influence of this two-fold depravation was conspicuous in every part of the Roman character; literary genius, taste in the arts, military spirit, all withered together, and presented one uniform appearance of general decay[16]. In the fourth century, learning of every kind was abandoned for the idle recreations of the theatre, so that, when in a time of apprehended famine it had become expedient to diminish the population of the capital, the teachers of learning were banished, while six thousand dancers of both sexes were retained. The libraries, we are told, were shut like the tombs; and in the few houses which before had cherished a love for liberal pursuits, the indolent gratification of music engrossed every attention. Diocletian and Constantine[17] were the last who erected public edifices of a solid and durable construction; and even of their buildings the design and execution exhibited marks of inferiority. The passion for statues[18] still remained, prompted by the ambitious desire of posthumous reputation; but the statues of this declining period, instead of being recommended by the skill of the artist, were embellished with a covering of gold. The triumphal[19] arch of Constantine, indeed, which the Romans could adorn only by pillaging that of Trajan, bore a public acknowledgment of the extinction of taste. The profession of arms[20] was, almost from the beginning of the third century, relinquished to the barbarians of the frontiers, who thus became possessed of the power, as they were intrusted with the defence of the state. The evil, however, had begun so early as in the first century, for Tacitus[21] has represented the strength of the Roman armies as then consisting wholly of foreigners. Even the population [22] of Italy began to fail, and to furnish in its diminution, the last and most decisive proof, that the empire had reached nearly to the limit of its natural existence. The government too, while it was thus tottering in decay, imposed on its subjects burthens so oppressive, that, at [23] the time of its dissolution, the name of Roman citizen was held in abhorrence, and those who were entitled to claim it went over to the barbarians. Justly, then, might the historian of its decline and fall [24] pronounce, that, if all the barbarian tribes had ceased to exist, the empire of the west could not have been saved from destruction. Neither was the subversion of the western empire effected by the sudden shock of overbearing violence, but by a change so gradual, that it is scarcely distinguishable from the other successions of an agitated government. Count Ricimer [25], one of the commanders of the barbarian troops employed for the defence of Italy, reigned in effect over that country during fifteen years, appointing and removing emperors at his pleasure, though he did not venture to assume the imperial dignity. Soon after death had delivered Italy from the real, though unacknowledged, dominion of this barbarian, the son [26] of a Roman, who, in one of the ceded provinces, had been naturalised among the Huns, was advanced to the station of emperor; and, within a year, this feeble monarch, by a formal act of abdication, transferred his sovereignty to Odoacer, a native barbarian. Still, however, the majesty of the Roman name prevailed, and Odoacer [27], agreeably to an unanimous decree of the senate, submitted his royalty to the supremacy of Zeno, the eastern emperor, from whom he accepted the title of patrician, with the administration of the *diocese* of Italy.

---

[13] A curious testimony of the importance of the social principles still existing among the Romans, was borne by the Gothic prince Adolphus, who declared that he had been convinced, by repeated experiments, that a purely Gothic empire could not be formed.—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii. p. 250. Lond. 1787. Two qualities, says M. Sismondi, appear to be necessary to liberty, individual force or energy and social: the former, or a spirit of independence, is the quality of a savage, and was brought into modern Europe by the tribes of the north; the latter, or the social disposition, could arise only amidst civilisation, and therefore existed only in the south. The people of the former, he adds, had liberty without a country, those of the latter had a country without liberty.—Hist. des Repub. Italiennes, tome i. p. 417—419. Paris, 1809.

[14] Decline and Fall, &c. vol. i. p. 69.

---

[15] De Sublim. cap. 43.

[16] Ammiani Marcellini, lib. xiv. cap. 6.

[17] Hist. des Allemands, par Schmidt, tome i. p. 200. Liege, 1784.

[18] Ammiani Marcellini, *ubi supra.*

[19] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. i. p. 512.

[20] Ibid. p. 203.

[21] Annal. lib. iii. cap. 40.

---

[22] It was found necessary to exempt from tribute 330,000 acres of Campania, as desert and uncultivated.—Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. p. 65. [23] Salviani de Gubern. Dei, lib. v. cap. 5. [24] Decline and Fall, &c. vol. iii. p. 431. [25] Ibid. p. 451—490. [26] The last emperor of the west, in whom were so strangely united the names of Romulus and Augustus, was the son of Orestes, a Roman of Pannonia, who, when that province was ceded to the Huns, had entered into the service of Attila.—Ibid. pp. 492, 498. [27] Ibid. pp. 496, 497.

While the Romans were rapidly degenerating into that worst species of barbarism, the barbarism of corrupted civilisation, some of the nations of the north were making such advances in improvement, as qualified them to cherish in their future acquisitions the still remaining principles of human refinement, and to give being to communities, in which these should be propagated with recruited vigour. The most distinguished of the barbarians were the Goths, who were nearest to the part of the frontier of the empire least distant from the centre. So early[28] as in the reign of Aurelian, which was begun in the year 270, and ended in the year 275, the great province of Dacia was relinquished to them, and the Danube was constituted the northern boundary. This cession became the epoch of Gothic civilisation, many of the Roman inhabitants remaining in the abandoned province, and introducing among their new masters a knowledge of the conveniences of cultivated life. Here they continued during a century, after which they were attacked by the Huns, who[29] appear to have received the impulse from the remote confines of China. The Ostrogoths[30], or eastern tribes of the Goths, being subdued by that nation, the Visigoths, or western, entreated the emperor Valens to permit them to pass the Danube, and to form a settlement on its southern side. This settlement was effected in Mœsia in the year 376. From [31] this station they, in the year 408, invaded Italy under Alaric, and two years afterwards plundered the imperial city; and in the year 412, they were induced to retire into Gaul, where they possessed themselves of the southern provinces. In the following [32] year the Burgundians, who during more than fifty years had been settled near the Rhine, entered the eastern provinces of the same country. These two nations, but more especially the Visigoths, appear to have been instrumental in preserving a portion of the refinement of a country, which, under the Roman dominion, had received considerable improvement. The dominion of the Goths was also extended over Spain, which the Vandals abandoned for the Roman province of Africa.

---

[28] Decline and Fall, vol. i. pp. 356, 357. [29] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 563—592. [30] Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, cap. xxi.—xxv.

[31] Decline and Fall, &c. vol. iii. p. 192, &c. [32] Etats formés en Europe, &c. par D'Anville, pp. 92, 93.

The Ostrogoths, having[33] availed themselves of the opportunity presented in the year 453 by the death of Attila, the celebrated chief of the Huns, to recover their independence, received from the empire a grant of Pannonia. This province is described by the Gothic historian, as then adorned with many cities, and was therefore well fitted for their improvement; it was also conveniently situated in the neighbourhood of Italy, the scene of their future destination. For the education of Theodoric, the leader of the Italian expedition, a special provision may be said to have been made, as he was, at the age of seven years, sent a hostage to the court of Constantinople, where he became a favourite of the eastern emperor, and continued to reside until the time of his invasion of Italy.

It appears from these facts, that the whole of the Gothic nation was first placed for a century in an exterior province of the empire; and that then the portion, which was afterwards established in the southern districts of Gaul and in Spain, was brought into a nearer and more improved situation, where it remained during thirty-two years. It also appears that another nation, which had been quietly settled during more than the half of a century in the vicinity of the Gallic province, occupied about the same time the eastern districts of that country. The fall of these transalpine territories naturally preceded the subversion of the domestic government; and, accordingly, the other portion of the Goths, which afterwards founded the Italian kingdom, was brought into an interior and adjacent province at a subsequent period; early enough, however, to allow them a residence of almost forty years. The prince too, under whose guidance they entered Italy, was favoured with all the opportunities of refinement, which the eastern capital could afford.

While tribes, in some degree trained to civilisation, were thus introduced into these countries, other tribes of a very different character also advanced into the empire; and it is particularly remarkable and curious, that the two principal governments of the modern system of nations owe their commencements to these ruder barbarians, the French government to the Franks, and the British to the Saxons.

---

[33] Jornandes, cap. l.—lii.

The Franks were a tribe, or rather an association of tribes, which could boast no advantage of Roman culture, and had not even become acquainted with the Christian religion[34], a superior reputation for valour being their most distinguishing characteristic. By these the Burgundians of the eastern districts were reduced to subjection, and, in the south, the Gothic monarchy was almost limited to the Spanish peninsula. It seems as if provision had been first made for the preservation of some part of the refinement of this highly cultivated province of the empire, by the earlier establishment of the comparatively civilized Visigoths and Burgundians, and that then, from another quarter, was infused the spirit of a fierce and military nation, to furnish the central country of the future system with a principle of energy, corresponding to the importance of its allotted position. A similar combination seems to have been formed also in Italy, by the subsequent introduction of the Lombards, a people[35] described as few in number, but distinguished by extraordinary ferocity.

The Saxons and the Angles, who were the founders of the British government, were yet ruder than the Franks and Lombards, being not only strangers to the civilisation and the religion of the imperial government, but excited by their maritime situation to the practice of piracy. In the habits of naval enterprise we may discover a correspondence to the maritime character of the government afterwards established in England; the relation of the rudeness of these untutored tribes to its general improvement seems however to have consisted more particularly in their wild independence. Not combined, like the Franks, by the habits of warfare under a single chief, but divided into numerous parties acting under separate leaders, they gave a beginning, not to a great military monarchy, but to a balanced constitution of various orders. Provision, however, appears to have been made, by the instrumentality of another tribe of northern barbarians, for the subsequent refinement of Britain, as well as for the improvement of its Saxon government, the Normans becoming qualified, by a long establishment in France, for supplying what was deficient in the civilisation of their brethren, and also for introducing a new modification of the loose and disorderly, but free constitution of government, which these had at length erected.

---

[34] Libanius says, that it was a law among them to conquer or die; that when Julian, during his command in Gaul, had taken some prisoners of that nation, he thought himself bound to send them to the emperor; and that the emperor, when he saw them, said that they were indeed a gift, and distributed them among his legions, in the persuasion that he thereby combined with them so many fortresses. —Vie de Julien, par M. de la Bleterie, pp. 94, 95. Paris, 1775.

[35] Decline and Fall, &c. vol. iv. p. 215, note.

Of the northern countries of Europe, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden remained in the possession of the barbarians, whose kindred tribes overwhelmed and occupied the south. These countries [36] lay beyond the limits of the ancient empire, and could receive improvement only by the reaction of the governments established in the seats of civilisation. For this purpose all that was required was, that such an affinity should exist between their inhabitants and the new masters of the southern countries, as might facilitate the communication of the refinement which the latter had acquired. The remaining improvement of the ruined empire, together with the attainments of its barbarian conquerors, was thus gradually diffused throughout these northern countries; and western Europe, from Lapland to the strait of the Mediterranean, however diversified by the varieties of local circumstances, assumed a general resemblance of manners and of political constitutions.

The treatise of Tacitus has rendered every student familiar with the character of the tribes of ancient Germany, which acted a part so important in the formation of the modern system. Disgusted indeed with the vices of a decaying government, he seems to have sought a refuge for his feelings in the contemplation of the uncorrupted simplicity of its barbarous neighbours, and to have described their manners with the same enthusiasm, which is experienced by the inhabitant of a crowded city, when he beholds freedom and nature in some rural retreat. But, whatever abatement of his panegyric may be thought due to this temper of his mind, enough of his representation must remain unshaken, to warrant us in regarding with respect these regenerators of the west.

---

[36] The provinces of Upper and Lower Germany were on the Gallic side of the Rhine, being so named only because the Germans had passed into those parts of Gaul.—Decline and Fall, &c. vol. i. p. 25. The country, indeed, which has since become the circle of Suabia, was occupied by the Romans when it had been abandoned by its former inhabitants.—Ibid. p. 400.

Besides that hardy spirit of manly valour, which had been lost amidst the tranquil luxury of an established and extensive empire, other qualities also belonged to these barbarians, which exercised a beneficial influence on the incipient system. The civilised nations of the south had cultivated the social qualities of our nature, until individuals had ceased to feel a dependence on themselves, and their character had been degraded by a servile submission to authority. The northern tribes had retained their manly independence, because, by the disadvantages of their situation, they had been debarred from that progress of civilisation, in which it would have been suppressed, being retained in a state of imperfect combination, in which the importance, and even the personal safety, of every man was the result of his own qualities. The introduction of tribes thus characterised would supply the spirit which was deficient in the slaves of an exhausted empire. The aggregate population would learn to combine a feeling of personal dignity with the habit of political submission; and preparation would be made for constructing that government of balanced orders, which Tacitus[37] contemplated with despair.

It must not, however, be supposed, that the freedom of modern governments is exclusively the work of the German conquerors of the empire. The municipal regulations[38] of the principal towns had been copied from the republican regulations of ancient Rome, of which the forms had still been preserved in the capital; and a number of little republics, thus continuing to exist within the dominion of an arbitrary monarchy, furnished the model of the commons of modern governments. But the independence of the Germans extended through an entire constitution that spirit of freedom, which, in the ancient empire, had been limited to the interior administration of cities. Though with various success, according to the great variety of circumstances, every government of western Europe has accordingly, in some period, admitted to its public councils the representatives of its commons, there to deliberate concerning the public interests in conjunction with an independent nobility.

---

[37] Cunctas nationes et urbes populus, aut primores, aut singuli regunt: delecta ex his et consociata reipublicæ forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest.—Annal. lib. iv. cap. 33. [38] Heineccii, Antiq. Roman. lib. i. app. 123. The colonies, too, though they did not, like the municipal towns, enjoy the privilege of framing their own laws, but were subject to those of Rome, yet had nearly the same forms of republican administration. —Ibid. 131.

Another distinguishing quality of the Germans was the reverence, which they appear to have entertained for the delicacy of the female character, neither degrading their women into slaves, like other barbarians, nor into objects of merely sensual gratification, like those who called themselves civilised. The German woman was the companion of her husband, participating his cares without servile drudgery, and influencing his actions with the gentle sway of respect and affection. The continence belonging to this character, formed the most obvious contrast with the corrupted manners of the empire. Salvian[39] has declared his persuasion, that the empire had been subjected to the barbarians for the punishment of its vitiated morals, and has informed us, that even the Vandals[40], not satisfied with observing in their own conduct the rules of chastity, had enforced the same sobriety among their Roman subjects.

The north-eastern part of Europe was occupied by tribes discriminated from the Germans by almost every imaginable distinction, the Slavians,[41] who had followed the Germans into the empire, succeeding to the possession of the countries, which these had relinquished. From the Germans they differed in their persons,[42] which bore a Tatar character, in their language, so that the distinction has been transmitted to their modern descendants, in their dress,[43] which was loose and flowing, unlike to the close garments of the Germans, and in their mode of fighting,[44] which was equestrian. A more important distinction than all these was, that they held yet a lower place in the scale of civilisation,[45] being esteemed barbarous even in comparison with other barbarians.

---

[39] De Gubernatione Dei, lib. vii. In Africa, he has remarked, the Vandals carried their reformation so far, as to compel all the common women to marry. [40] The Vandals dwelt anciently near the Palus Meotis; pressed by hunger, they removed to the Franks, who were situated near the Rhine, and from the latter station they proceeded to Spain.—Procopii Hist. Vandal. lib. i. They seem, as a more barbarous tribe, to have served to break down the Roman government of Spain, and thus to prepare that province for the reception of the Goths. [41] The Slavians derived their name from a word of their own

The distinctness of the Slavian population of the north-eastern counties of Europe may be considered, as having served to maintain the separation of the two combinations of governments heretofore existing in Europe. If it was important that Russia should have been preserved in a rude independence, that it might be prepared for bearing a principal part in the deliverance of Europe from the dominion of the French empire, this rude independence seems itself to have been the result of the peculiar and pre-eminent barbarism of its original inhabitants, which was ill-fitted to yield to the influences of southern improvement.

language, *slawa* or *slava*, signifying *glory*. From their name again, in modern language, has been taken the appellation of bondsmen, the Venetians having reduced many of them to servitude.—Etats formés en Europe, &c. pp. 30, 31. [42] The description of the person of Attila, in the History of Jornandes, is completely that of a Tatar: forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiori, minutis oculis, rarus barba, canis aspersus, simo naso, teter colore.—De Rebus Geticis, cap. xxxv. The historian has added, originis suæ signa restituens, but this alludes to a fable invented by fear and aversion, that he and his nation were the progeny of witches and evil spirits.—Ibid. cap. xxiv.

[43] Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatæ ac Parthi, sed stricta, et singulos artus exprimente.—Tac. de Germ. cap. xvii. The close dress, so expressive of the superior activity of the modern inhabitants of western Europe, appears thus to have descended to them from their German ancestors. [44] Hi tamen (Venedi scilicet) inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domus fingunt, et scuta gestant, et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent; quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt, in plaustro equoque viventibus.—Tac. de Germ. cap. xlvi. [45] Tacitus says, of a degenerated tribe of Germans, the Peucini "nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum fœdantur.'—Ibid.

CHAPTER II.

History of the Arabs, from the birth of Mohammed, in the year 569, *to the suppression of the caliphate in the year* 1258.

Mohammed born in the year 569—He assumes the prophetic character, 609—Flight to Medina, or *hegyra*, 622—Conquest of Arabia completed, and death of Mohammed, 632—Conquest of Syria, 633—of Egypt, 640—of Persia, 651—Beginning of the dynasty of Ommiyah, 661—Conquest of northern Africa, 709—of Transoxiana, 710—of Spain, 711—Saracens defeated by Charles Martel, 732—Beginning of the dynasty of Abbas, 749—Decline of the government, 842—Caliph deprived of authority, 941—Beginning of the Patan or Afghan dynasty of India, 1205—All India conquered except the Deccan, 1218—Caliphate suppressed, 1258.

In the preceding chapter those particulars have been considered, whether of local situation or of national character, which may be regarded as having predisposed the modern nations of Europe to the functions, which they have respectively discharged in the combinations of its history. Before the review of that history is begun, it may be most convenient to review the history of the Arabs, who made a deep and important impression on the system of Europe themselves, and afterwards furnished with all the influence attached to their religion the tribe of Tatars, which finally overthrew the eastern empire and established itself in the sovereignty of Greece. The review of the affairs of Europe may thus be prosecuted with less interruption.

In considering the external agency of the followers of Mohammed on the European system, two successive periods of time should be carefully distinguished, that of the Arabs or Saracens, and that of the Turks. The Arabs, though rude and ignorant in the commencement of their enterprises, acquired, with their empire, a taste for the refinements of those whom they conquered, and conveyed to the Europeans of the west a knowledge of improvement, which could not then have reached them by any other communication. This people, therefore, served not merely to compress and bind together the yet imperfect union of the new system of society, but also to convey to it the refinement, which it had eagerly seized as the best prize of its victories; and it is remarkable, that the period of the greatest refinement of the Arabs was coincident with that of the grossest ignorance of the western nations. The Turks, who succeeded the Arabs, borrowed from them their religion, and could not fail to receive from them some slight tincture of their refinement; but, sprung from a ruder and less genial climate, and despising the Greeks, whom they had subdued, they remained barbarians in the chief seats of ancient civilisation, and were enemies to the arts, not less than to the religion of Europe. The difference was, however, well accommodated to the progressive formation of the system of the west. The Turks, by their very barbarism, drove the precious remnant of the scholarship of Greece into Italy, which had then been prepared to receive and cherish it; and the same barbarism, by obstructing the long established communication with the rich countries of the Mediterranean and the east, has served to propel into the ocean that commerce, for which the spirit of maritime discovery at length opened new courses.

For explaining the important distinction observable between the characters of the Arabs and the Turks, the first and most obvious solution is drawn from the different influences of a northern and a southern climate. But how inadequate is this solution to the entire explanation, will appear at once to those, who look on the other side of the Red Sea to the desert of Upper Egypt[1], where an inactive and melancholy mysticism appears to have been the combined result of climate and situation. One of those peculiarities, which appear to have directed the excitement of Arabian imagination rather to this world than to the next, was probably the position of the peninsula, which, the navigation[2] of the Red Sea being dangerous, constituted it the great thoroughfare of the commerce of India. The Arabs could not fail to interest themselves in the traffic, which they assisted in conveying through their deserts, and accordingly they learned to unite[3], in the composition of their national character, the industry of the trader with the violence of the robber. To this singular combination their very country seems to have been adapted, as it was the peculiar region of the camel, which was fitted for the one part of it, and of the horse, which was suited to the other. A second peculiarity, modifying the character of the Arabians, may perhaps be found in the topography of the peninsular, which is very different from that of the Egyptian desert. Arabia[4] is a mass of mountains, encircled by a vast belt of sandy wastes; but on several of these mountains much verdure may be found, and the province of Yemen[5] has been described by Sir William Jones as the appropriate scene of pastoral poetry. Far different is such a country from the savage solitude of Egypt[6], in which men must wish to withdraw their minds from a world so forlorn.

---

[1] This was accordingly the parent country of monkery. Paul, the first hermit, established himself there in the third century. Antony, who first formed the monks into societies in the fourth century, introduced his regulations in the same region.—Mosheim, cent. 3, part ii. chap. iii. sect. iii., and cent. 4, part ii. chap. iii. sect. xiii. In the time of the Emperor Valens, the desert was peopled by 5000 monks. —Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. p. 510. 'I have seen,' says Niebuhr, 'young Arabs in Yemen dance and leap, with arms in their hands, to the sound of small drums: yet even the inhabitants of the desert show greater vivacity than the Turks. As for the melancholy Egyptians, I never saw them discover any mark of genuine joy, even at their festivals, however splendid.—Travels in Arabia, &c. vol. ii. pp. 157, 158. Perth, 1799.

Before the revolution of Mohammed[7], or, as we have been accustomed to write his name, Mahomet[8], the noble and learned Arabs were theists, or worshippers of one God, while a stupid idolatry prevailed among the lower classes of the people. The religions of the Jews and Christians were, however, not unknown in the time of that impostor. When the Jews first came into the country cannot now be determined; but in the time of Mohammed we find them possessed of fortresses, and engaging in military enterprises. The religion of Christians was probably introduced into it in the very commencement of the church, for we find Arabians[9] mentioned among those whom Peter so successfully exhorted at the first Christian festival of pentecost; but the first distinct account of its introduction is not earlier than the middle of the third century, when Origen[10] was invited into it from Alexandria by an Arabian prince. Nor do the labours of this eminent teacher appear to have produced any considerable effect, a single tribe of wandering Arabs being mentioned as his only proselytes. That which principally brought Christians and their religion into Arabia was its independence. The various sects of heretics, pursued by the violence of their orthodox brethren, retired from the scenes of cultivated life to wildernesses, which nature had formed for liberty.

---

[2] Travels in Arabia, &c. vol ii. p. 86. [3] Mirum dictu ex innumeris populis pars æqua in commerciis aut latrociniis degit.—Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 32. [4] Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 254. [5] Essay on Asiatic Poetry. [6] Savary's Letters on Egypt, letter xxx. [7] This name is a passive participle of the Arabic verb *hamada*, signifying *to praise*.—White's Bampton Lect., notes, p. 33. Dublin, 1785. [8] Dissertation on the Arabs, by Sir W. Jones.

A people ardent and ignorant, imperfectly acquainted with religions purer than their own, and incapable of appreciating their respective pretensions, was well prepared for the schemes of an artful impostor[11], who should contrive to combine whatever might be most acceptable in all the different modes of worship, and present the aggregate to his countrymen as a new interposition of the Almighty,

[9] Acts of the Apostles, chap. ii. v. 11.

[10] Mosheim, cent. 3, part i. chap. i. sect. vi.

[11] Mr. White has remarked, that the Koran does not contain one single doctrine which may not fairly be derived, either from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, from the spurious and apocryphal gospels current in the east, from the Talmudical legends, or from the traditions, customs, and opinions of the Arabians.—Bampton Lect. p. 183. To these sources, however, should be added the notions of the Persian magi, from which appear to have been taken the *hurâl oyûn*, or paradisiacal females, whose charms were to be the reward of the faithful.—Hist. of the Arabs by the authors of the Universal History, vol. i. p. 347. Lond. 1761. The Mohammedans say, that this book has been taken from a great book of the divine decrees, from which it was extracted at the creation, and then lodged in one of the seven heavens, which are beneath the throne of God; and that it was brought thence, in successive portions, by the angel Gabriel to Mohammed in the space of twenty three years.—D'Herbelot, art. *Alcoran.* The pretended revelations of Mohammed were digested into their present order from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and from the recitation of those who had committed them to memory, by Abu Becr, his immediate successor, who had begun to fear lest some part of them might be lost, as many who could repeat them, had been recently slain in an engagement with the followers of a rival pretender to prophecy.—Hist. of the Arabs, vol. i. p. 308.

to recover them from the error of their ways. The degree also of rude refinement, which climate and situation appear to have generated in Arabia, supplied a most commodious instrument in the admirable language of the peninsula, which Sir William Jones[12] has described as inferior to none ever spoken by mortals in copiousness and precision. The cultivation of this language seems to have been the favourite recreation of the Arabs. Though letters appear to have been little known, eloquence and poetry were studied with the utmost attention, solemn assemblies being held for the exercise and display of genius, and the children being employed in committing to memory the most approved compositions. In the violence of the fanaticism with which Mohammed inspired them, they became hostile to literature[13]; but there is reason for believing, that the native character of the Arabs had been suspended by its influence, and was resumed in their subsequent patronage of letters.

Among the numerous tribes of the Arabs, that of the Koreish was the most respected, and was intrusted with the guardianship of the temple of Mecca, the centre of the national religion. The dialect of this tribe had attained to a refinement correspondent to its distinction. By the continual resort of the other tribes to Mecca[14], the Koreish were furnished with all the variety of expression, which these severally possessed, and were at the same time guarded against provincial corruptions ; and, being situated almost in the centre of Arabia, they were precluded from such an intercourse with strangers, as might have introduced among them an admixture of the languages of other nations. In this manner was formed the dialect, in which the Koran was composed, so perfect, that Mohammed, when he was pressed to establish the truth of his mission by a display of supernatural power, was not afraid to appeal to his book as an incontrovertible miracle[15].

---

[12] Dissertation on the Arabs. [13] Berington's Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages, app. ii. [14] White's Bampt. Lect., notes, p. 30.

[15] The interpreters of the Koran agree, that its most eloquent passage is the following, which describes the Deity ordering the deluge to cease :—' Earth, swallow up thy waters ; ye heavens draw up those which ye have poured forth. The water immediately withdrew, the commandment of God was accomplished, the ark stopped on the mountain, and these words were heard, " Woe to the wicked." ' —

Though Mecca was the seat of the most refined language of Arabia, the inhabitants of Medina[16] were distinguished by the name of *the people of the Book*, as they were especially favoured with the pretended revelation. To this city it was the fortune of Mohammed to be forced to retire in that flight which, under the name of the *hegrah* or *hegyra*, has become the epoch of his followers[17]; and, as he was afterwards buried in this place, Medina has shared with Mecca the veneration of devout Moslems[18].

The flight of Mohammed, caused by the strenuous resistance which the Koreish opposed to his pretensions, appears to have given to the religion of the impostor that military character, which rendered it so formidable to the world. In the weakness of his beginning, he had trusted wholly to the power of persuasion, and had obtained at Mecca[19] but very moderate success, when, at the end of thirteen years, the adherents of the established idolatry became alarmed, and drove him from the place. At Medina, where there was some knowledge of the revelations of the Jews and Christians, his doctrine, which recognised the authority of both, had been better received; and, as he was pressed by the hostility of his adversaries, he ventured there to renounce the pacific character which he had before maintained[20]. For the causes of the ex-

---

D'Herbelot, art. *Alcoran*. The historian of the Roman empire has well observed, that the eloquence of Mohammed, however exalted by the divine attributes, must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job.—Decline and Fall, &c. vol. v. p. 209.

[16] White's Bampt. Lect., notes, p. 9.

[17] The era of the hegyra began on the sixteenth day of July, in the year of the Christian era 622. The Arabian year, by which it was computed, consisted of 354 days, with an addition of eleven days in every period of thirty years.—Beveridge's Institutiones Chronol. Omar, the second caliph, or the successor of Abu Becr, introduced this computation of time seventeen years after the event, imitating the Christians, who then counted their years from the persecution begun by Dioclesian, in the year 284, which era they named *the era of martyrs*.—D'Herbelot, art. *Hegrah*.

[18] The Mohammedans give to their religion the name *eslam*, signifying an entire submission and resignation to God. Hence is formed the word *moslem*, the appellation of those who profess it, which has been converted into the name *mussulman* in common use. Ibid. art. *Eslam* and *Moslem*.

[19] Decline and Fall, &c. vol. v. p. 220, &c.

[20] In the preceding year he had administered to his followers an oath, which was called *the woman's oath*, because it did not oblige

traordinary success[21] which his imposture afterwards experienced, may be assigned the general ignorance of the Arabs, the degree of refinement existing among them, the disunion of their numerous tribes, the accommodating nature of his medley of religions, and perhaps, above all, the intrinsic merit of the doctrines which he taught. To ignorant heathens he taught doctrines[22], which were borrowed from the pure communications of divine truth, much debased, indeed, but still far nobler, and more worthy of attention, than the rude tenets of their own paganism; and, ignorant as they were, and incapable of forming a just judgment of his pretension to divine authority, these heathens were yet in that state of pastoral refinement, in which they could be captivated by the charms of eloquence[23], and be struck with the sublimity of the scriptural descriptions of God. The religion of Mohammed was probably better adapted to the moral regulation of the east, than the contentious[24] and paganised Christianity[25], which alone preserved there the memory of the Gospel.

---

them to take up arms in defence of him or his religion; and in several parts of the Koran, which he pretended to have received from heaven during his stay at Mecca, he disclaimed all authority for compelling any one to embrace his doctrines.—History of the Arabs, vol. i. p. 84—88.

[21] It has been said, that if we divide the known regions of the world into thirty equal parts, the Christians will be found to be in possession of five, the Mohammedans of six, and the idolaters of nineteen.—White's Bampt. Lect. p. 238, note.

[22] Among these is, in the first place, to be mentioned the great doctrine of the unity of God; then those which inculcate the duties of prayer and almsgiving.

[23] The following story, characteristic of the Arabian taste for poetry, is related in a note of Memoirs of Klopstock, by Miss Smith, p. 26. Bath, 1809;—Mr. Eton, having translated to an Arab a portion of the Messiah of that writer, the latter listened with indescribable attention, and then rose up in great agitation, exclaiming, 'Excellent! but Allah pardon him for having so highly exalted the Son.' He afterwards begged that Mr. Eton would proceed, and again rose hastily, with a sort of indignant admiration, continually repeating his former prayer.

[24] The eastern countries were at this time distracted by the contentions which had arisen concerning the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ. These had generated the various sects of Nestorians, who maintained two distinct natures, of Eutychians and Monophysites, who held that there was but one, and of Monothelites, who taught that there were two natures, but only one will.

[25] In the sixth century, which immediately preceded the age of

It is remarkable, that the compressing power of the nations of Europe, which was thus formed originally in Arabia, and the system upon which it was to act, were both actuated by corrupt modifications of our holy religion, extremely dissimilar in spirit and character. While the Christian church had sunk into an idolatry, which could scarcely be distinguished from the paganism of former ages, and had encumbered the religion of the Gospel with a multitude of new inventions, the counter-corruption, devised in Arabia, proscribed the use of images, and rejected every speculative tenet of belief, except the acknowledgement[26] of the unity of God and of the divine mission of Mohammed. To monkery the new religion was decidedly adverse[27]. There were, indeed, many persons, who, under the name of *fakirs*, as they were called by the Arabs, or of *dervises*, as they were named by the Turks and Persians, sought to acquire, by extraordinary mortifications, the reputation of superior sanctity; but they were not associated by those ties of fraternity, which rendered the monastic orders of Europe so powerful, nor were they separated from the rest of a community by any other distinction, than that of the poverty, or other suffering, to which they voluntarily submitted. The grand discrimination, however, related to the distinction of the civil and ecclesiastical power, which scarcely existed among the Mohammedans. As the religion of Mohammed was an imposture, the ecclesiastical was a mere instrument of the civil authority; the religion of Christians, on the other hand, being founded on a genuine revelation, the pretensions of its priesthood, however in reality des-

---

Mohammed, the saints began to be reverenced as so many tutelar divinities, and numerous festivals, many borrowed from paganism, were instituted in honour of them. The worship of the Virgin Mary was most conspicuous and offensive. Even before the conclusion of the fourth century, a sect prevailed in Arabia and the adjacent countries, which worshipped her as a goddess, with libations and sacrifices.—Mosheim, cent. 6, part ii. chap. iv.; and cent. 4, part ii. chap. v. In the fifth, Cyril of Alexandria, and the council of Ephesus, gave her the title of *mother of God;* and Cyril did not scruple to call her, the *complement* or *supplement* of the Trinity.—Four Treatises concerning the Mahommedans, p. 174. Lond. 1712.

[26] The creed of Mohammed was this: 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Apostle.'—Hist. of the Arabs, vol. i. p. 85.

[27] D'Herbelot, articles *Rohban* and *Fakir*.

titute of support, claimed to stand on a ground distinct from, and independent of, the civil authority, over which it asserted a paramount dominion.

In comparing the external power with the system on which it acted, a curious correspondence, in regard to vigour and decay, presents itself to our observation. The Arabian power was not formed so early as the barbarian settlements in western Europe; neither could any compressing power be necessary, or useful, until these establishments had begun to acquire some degree of consistency. It was then rapidly created during the weakness of the first dynasty of France, so as to have attained its greatest strength when Charles Martel, and his greater grandson Charlemagne, were ready to resist and restrain its assaults. It sunk into imbecility in the time of those unworthy descendants of Charlemagne, whose weakness permitted the separation of his vast empire into independent governments, which the hostility of an external power would have embarrassed and obstructed.

The military spirit, originally excited by the resistance of the tribe of the Koreish, was soon directed to the entire reduction of the Arabian peninsula, which was effected within ten years from the flight of Mohammed. The sudden union of such a people as the Arabs under a single government, actuated by fanaticism, and animated by success, could not fail to be productive of dangerous hostility to the Greek empire, in its neighbouring provinces Syria and Egypt, and to the contiguous empire of Persia. It happened, too, that both these governments, in this critical moment of their existence, were in a state of weakness and decay, which disabled them for any vigorous opposition. The reduction of Syria was accordingly effected in the year 638, or six years after the completion of the conquest of Arabia, that of Egypt two years afterwards, and that of Persia eleven years after the reduction of Egypt, or in the year 651.

The conquest of the Persian empire, though somewhat later in time, should be first considered, because it furnished the Arabs with that refinement, for which, by the previous conquest of Syria and Egypt, a way was opened into Europe. This empire, which, under the successors of Alexander, had yielded to the ascendency of the new kingdom of Parthia[28], was re-established two hundred and twenty-six years[29] after the beginning of the Christian era, by Ardisheer or Artaxerxes, the founder of the dynasty, which governed it until the invasion of the Arabs. The restored dominion soon came into collision with the declining empire of Rome; and the blows, which they mutually inflicted, had prepared both, but especially the Persian empire, for submitting to the triumphs of Arabian fanaticism.

The re-establishment of the Persian empire appears to have had, for its primary operation, the division of that of Rome into the two empires of the east and west. The revolution of Artaxerxes was effected in the year 227; in the year 286, the emperor Diocletian found it necessary to associate with himself one colleague, and six years afterwards two others, in the government of the empire, that he might direct his own undivided attention to the defence of the eastern provinces; in the year 324 was begun the city of Constantinople, one great object of which was probably to watch and control the movements of the Persian monarch; and in the year 364, under the emperors Valentinian and Valens, was effected that separation of the eastern and western empires, which, in the unwieldy weakness of the Roman dominion, had been thus gradually prepared. In this series of dates it is sufficiently apparent, that the restored empire of Persia acted directly in detaching the eastern from the western territories of Rome, and thus gave the impulse to a revolution, which reserved the refinement of an eastern capital for the subsequent improvement of the system, to be established upon the earlier ruin of a western empire. If a series of Persian hostilities had not dissolved the union of the Roman government, either the majesty of the ancient empire would have been sufficient to repel the rude tribes of the northern barbarians, or the whole would have given way together, and no remaining dominion would have preserved to the fifteenth century the precious relics of ancient civilisation. Besides this principal operation, others, and of considerable importance, may also be discovered. One of these seems to have been the westward direction of the migratory nations of the north. The plains of Asia, instead of the western empire, might have been the scene of their establishments, if the restored government of Persia had not presented an insuperable impediment, and driven their wandering hordes, in successive migrations, to seek in the west an easier, though a less desirable settlement. Another, and of great and extensive influence, appears to have consisted in the preparation which it made for the refinement of the empire of the Arabs. The Mohammedan dominion, which furnished to the European system much of its principles of improvement, was to the oriental world the basis of its modern policy; and the religion of Arabia has accordingly been established throughout the widely extended territories of Turkey, Persia, and India. The Arabs, however, were but a rude race of fanatical warriors, until their caliphate had been stationed at Damascus. There they learned to adorn their triumphs with the elegancies of an ingenious and cultivated society; and the conquest of Persia proved to them, what that of ancient Greece had proved to the Romans, the occasion of their refinement. The reign of Nushirvan, which commenced in the year 531, and extended to the year 579, had been the period of the literary improvement, equally as of the political prosperity, of the Persians. At the command of this prince, the most celebrated compositions of Greece and India [30] were translated into the language of his country, which, in the time of Mohammed, had become so expressive and beautiful, that it was by him recommended for the use of paradise.

---

[28] This kingdom subsisted, according to Lewis, 481 years.—History of the Parthian Empire, p. 372. London, 1728.

[29] Decline and Fall, &c. vol. i. p. 238.

Mohammed, just before his death, had advanced [31] towards the border of Syria, and his design of invading that province was executed by his immediate successor, the first of the caliphs[32], who soon afterwards detached a part of his troops to take possession of Irak, a dependent territory of Persia. The foreign successes corresponded in rapidity to the domestic growth of the empire. The reduction of Syria was completed in the year 638; two years afterwards Egypt was added to the dominion of the Arabs; and at the close of eleven more, the throne of Persia was subverted by the victorious fanatics. Such was the force of the impulse which had been given by the impostor, that within the short space of twenty-nine years, from the time when he fled from Mecca to seek at Medina protection and assistance, it had not only combined into a nation the independent tribes of Arabia, but had also effected the reduction of one of the great empires by which it was bordered, and wrested from the other two considerable provinces.

---

[30] The fables of Pilpay, or Bidpai, were brought from India by his physician, whom he had sent for the purpose. D'Herbelot, art. *Homaioun Nameh*, or the *Royal Book*. From the same source was derived the modern arithmetic and algebra. The game of backgammon is said to have been invented by the visier of Nushirvan, to instruct the sovereign of India, that we must play the game of life according to the casts of fortune, in return for a chess-table, sent by the latter to intimate that attention and capacity are better friends.—Dow's Translation of Ferishta, vol. i. p. 137. Dubl. 1792.

[31] Decline and Fall, vol. v. pp. 245, 283.

An empire, formed with so much rapidity, must have contradicted all human experience, if it had been established for any very long duration. The religion and laws of Mohammed were indeed so well accommodated to the circumstances of the east, that even at this day they rival, perhaps exceed, in extent of territory, the profession of Christianity; but the Arabian empire was subject to the law of all hastily erected dominions, and after a transient brilliancy of triumph made room for new combinations. The great prosperity of the Arabs accordingly did not continue longer than two centuries, the sceptre of Persia[33] having fallen from the hands of the caliphs in the caliphate of Mamoon, which was begun in the year of the hegyra 198, and ended in the year 218. In the year 325 of that era, the caliphs[34] were stripped of the greater part of their authority by the usurpations of the provincial governors; and during a period exceeding three centuries, the successors of Mohammed enjoyed little more than the distinction of the title of caliph, which was itself at length suppressed in the year of the hegyra 656. Rahdi, who began his caliphate in the year 936 of the Christian era, or the year of the hegyra 324, was the last[35] who persevered in the practice of haranguing the people, or who maintained the decorum and dignity of his station.

---

[32] The word *caliph* signifies *successor* or *vicar*.

[33] Hist. of Persia, by Sir J. Malcolm, vol. i. p. 278. Lond. 1815. Hist. of the Arabs, vol. iii. pp. 674, 675.

[34] Hist. of the Arabs, vol. i. pp. 272, 273.

In the reduction of Egypt, the invaders were assisted by a schism, which had alienated a numerous party of the Christians of the country. The sect of the Monophysites, who contended for the singleness of the nature of Jesus Christ[36], but in language scarcely distinguishable from that of the orthodox church, had been, in the latter part of the sixth century, revived by the activity and eloquence of a monk, from whose Christian name they received the appellation of Jacobites. This sect[37], persecuted by the emperors, was content to seek protection from a government of infidels; a treaty was accordingly concluded, securing to them, on the payment of a tribute, the favour of their new masters; and, amidst the general defection of the natives of Egypt, the dominion of the Greek empire[38] was speedily overthrown.

The acquisition of Egypt furnished the Arabs with a military position, from which they might commodiously prosecute their enterprises towards the west, and thus come into collision with the new system of policy, which was there struggling into existence. Though in traversing the desert which separates Egypt from the inhabited coast of Africa, the natives of Arabia could encounter no hardship with which they were not already familiar, yet so difficult was the achievement of this distant conquest, that they were thrice compelled to relinquish their acquisitions, and retire to the borders of Egypt. With the difficulty of the enterprise indeed concurred the dissension of the invaders, among whom the caliphate had become an object of ambitious contention after the extinction of the contemporaries[39] of Mohammed; and such was the effect of these combined impediments, that though the Arabian empire had within twenty-nine years been extended over Syria, Persia, and Egypt, sixty-two elapsed from the first invasion of western Africa, before it comprehended this additional province. Then, indeed, the triumph of the Arabs was complete and decisive. The Moors[40] of the African desert became so intimately incorporated with the Bedoweens of Arabia, that they adopted the religion, and even the language of the conquerors, and ceased to be considered as a distinct people.

---

[35] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 456. [36] The Monophysites taught, that the divine and human natures of Christ were so united as to form only one *nature;* the orthodox, so as to form only one *person.* Mosheim, cent. 5. part ii. ch. v. [37] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 337.

[38] The historian of the Roman empire has assigned cogent reasons for acquitting the Arabs of the destruction of the great library of Alexandria, which appears to have been the work of earlier ravagers. Decline and Fall, &c., vol. v. pp. 343, 344. [39] Abu Becr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the last of whom died in the fortieth year of the

In this manner was suppressed the Christianity of a province, which in the second century had produced Tertullian, which, under Cyprian, had resisted the growing pretensions of the Roman bishop, and which, in producing Augustin, has permanently influenced the character of the whole western church. But however the ardent disposition of its people was manifested[41] in the eagerness with which they embraced the profession of the gospel, and however it may have been more particularly displayed in the exertions of distinguished individuals, it seems to have been ill suited to the spirit of the religion of Christ. A disputed election of a bishop produced the schism of the Donatists, which distracted[42] the church of Africa more than three hundred years, and was terminated only in the extinction of Christianity. In morals, too, we have reason to believe that they were deplorably deficient. Salvian, who wrote in the fifth century, has[43] given a shocking description of the profligacy of the original provincials; the Arian Vandals, by whom that profligacy had been chastised, were themselves become completely dissolute[44] in the course of three generations; and it is not probable that the lapse of more than a century and a half, from the time when these were reduced by the general of Justinian, had given occasion for any amendment. The religion of Arabia was better accommodated to the vehement passions

---

hegyra. Hasan, the son of Ali, succeeded his father, but within the same year was deposed by Moawiyah, the first of the Ommiades.

[40] Five, however, of the Moorish tribes retain their ancient language, and are called white Africans.—Decline and Fall, &c., vol. v. p. 363.

[41] Ibid. vol. i. p. 609.

[42] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 235.

[43] Omnes denique gentes habent, sicut peculiaria mala, ita etiam quædam bona. In Afris pene omnibus nescio quid non malum, &c. De Gubern. Dei, lib. vii.

[44] Decline and Fall, vol. iv. p. 136.

of the Africans, since it permitted licentiousness, and stimulated to hostility.

As Egypt had become a point of support for the reduction of western Africa, so was the latter territory the support of the invasion of the European peninsula of Spain, begun in the following year. Invited by the treachery of Count Julian, a Gothic noble, they passed the strait which separates Europe from Africa; and, assisted by the resentment of the persecuted Jews, they proceeded in a rapid career of conquest to the Pyrenees, leaving behind them only a small remnant of the Gothic monarchy, which was sheltered in the mountains of Asturia. This important augmentation of the Arabian dominion brought it within the original limits of Christian Europe, and into contact with France, the main and central government of the incipient system of the west. The ambition of the Arabs was, however, not contented even with the distant boundary of the Pyrenees; they spread themselves into France, as far as the Loire, and meditated a plan of conquest[45], which would have overwhelmed the hopes of Christendom in one universal empire of Mohammedanism. The imbecility of a declining dynasty of French sovereigns had exposed France to this irruption. It was rescued by the magnanimity of Charles Martel, the progenitor of a second series, which was in its turn to sink into an equal weakness. The Arabs, defeated by this leader in a memorable conflict of seven days, were by his grandson Charlemagne driven back to the Ebro; and though they afterwards recovered the Spanish district, which they had lost, they were forced to respect the Pyrenees as the frontier of Christendom.

Nor were these western countries the only parts of Europe, in which it was pressed by the violence of the Arabs. Twice[46] did they assail the capital of the Greek empire, from which they were repulsed chiefly by the use of the Greek fire[47], which occupied the place between the military engines of antiquity and the artillery of modern ages. They afterwards[48] possessed themselves of Sicily, and also of other islands of the Mediterranean; and they even established themselves on the continental territory of Italy, in which they waged a long war of depredation, and threatened the majesty of Rome. In this crisis of a city so essentially connected with the history of both ancient and modern times, the danger was averted by the firmness and wisdomof pope Leo IV.; but the heroism[49] of the pontiff would have been insufficient for the protection of Italy, if the empire of the Arabs were not then enfeebled by disunion, so accurately was the decay, equally as the growth, of that extraordinary empire, adjusted to the exigencies of Europe.

---

[45] This plan proposed to conquer France, Italy, and Germany, and following the course of the Danube to the Black Sea, to overthrow the Greek empire.—Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 376.

[46] Ibid. pp. 393, 397.

[47] The invention was imparted to the Greeks by Callinicius, according to one account, a native of Heliopolis, in

Of this great empire, Arabia, Syria and Persia may be considered as the body: with that wing, which stretched over Egypt and Africa, it struck the western countries of Europe; with another, which was extended over Transoxiana[50], it overpowered almost the whole region of Hindostan.

In the year preceding the invasion of Spain, the wide Tatarian territory of Transoxiana was added to the empire; but a long time had elapsed before a government was established there, adequate to the subjugation of India. In the year 885, the most powerful of the princes, who became independent in the decline of the caliphate, assumed the sovereignty of a state comprehending, together with Transoxiana, Chorassan[51], and most of the remainder of the Persian empire, and also all the countries covering the frontier of the Hindoos, the capital being Bochara.

Syria, according to another, of Heliopolis, in Egypt. By the Greeks it was exclusively possessed more than four hundred years; it was at length either discovered or stolen by the Mohammedans, who employed it in the crusades; and it ceased to be used only in the middle of the fourteenth century. — Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 402—404.

[48] Ibid. p. 437.

[49] Ibid. p. 438.

[50] The modern name is *Maver-ul-nere,* signifying the *country beyond the river.* It is, however, known to us by the name of Great Bucharia. This country extends nearly six hundred miles in each direction.—Dow's Transl. of Ferishta, vol. i. p. 20, *note.*

[51] This, the most fertile and populous province of Persia, comprehended the ancient Bactria, and formed a square extending in each direction almost four hundred miles.—Ibid. p. 20.

A revolution[52] detached from this empire, in the year 962, a portion composed of the two provinces of Chorassan and Zabulistan, the latter of which connected the former with the western sources of the Indus; Ghizni, a city of Zabulistan, became the capital, and gave the appellation to the new sovereignty. The invasion of India[53] was contemporary with the formation of the new government. The object, at first only depredation, was by degrees converted into a plan of conquest and possession. As the government of Ghizni proceeded in the reduction of India, its Tatar neighbours and enemies[54] pressed on it from behind; and for both reasons its seat was successively transferred to two other situations, to Lahore in the year 1115, and in the year 1205 to Delhi. In the year 1218[55], the whole of India, except the Deccan, had been reduced to obedience under a Mohammedan sovereign.

The original seat of the caliphate was Medina, where Mohammed had continued to reside since his expulsion from Mecca; and, accordingly, in that city, five of his successors held their residence. In the progressive extension, however, of the empire of the Arabs, the importance and influence of the original country becoming disproportioned to those of the conquered provinces, in regard to which too it had not a central and convenient position, the seat of government was successively removed to various places, being, however, for the most part stationary, first at Damascus in Syria, and afterwards at Bagdad on the eastern bank of the Tigris. This latter city was founded for the purpose, being begun in the year 762[56]; and here the caliphs held their residence during almost five centuries, until the last of them was put to death by the Tatars, at the reduction of the place in the year 1258.

In their residence at Bagdad the caliphs happily acquired that love of learning, by which it was preserved from being extinguished in the confusions of Europe. The same caliph[57], who founded the new capital, invited and encouraged his subjects to direct, into this other field of activity, those energies which had been first excited by fanaticism, and then exercised in conquest. In the year 786, began the caliphate of Haroun al Raschid, the illustrious contemporary and ally of Charlemagne, and the hero of those Arabian tales, which are still read and admired; and his son Almamon, by the most extraordinary efforts of patronage, completed the honourable work of the protection of learning. By the command of Almamon the volumes of Grecian knowledge were collected at Constantinople, in Asia, and in Egypt; they were then, by his direction, translated with care into the language of Arabia; and his subjects were not only exhorted, but by his example stimulated, to devote themselves to the study. The period of Arabian learning, which began with the building of Bagdad, ended only with the suppression of the caliphate, and was just coincident with that of European barbarism and ignorance. Nor was the love of learning confined to the city in which it had its origin, but was diffused by the emulation of the rival caliphs[58] of Africa and Spain, and of the independent emirs of the provinces; and, from Tatary to western Europe, the whole Arabian empire[59] was busily engaged in collecting libraries and in acquiring knowledge.

---

[52] Dow's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 23.

[53] Ibid. p. 24.

[54] Ibid. pp. 109, 132, 170, 178, 180.

[55] Ibid. pp. 190, 191.

[56] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 418, *note* 42.

[57] Ibid. pp. 423, 424, 432.

The example of Arabic learning was, after some time, favourable to the cultivation of that of the people, among whom the Arabs had acquired a taste for literary refinement. The successes of the Arabs[60] were necessarily, at first, prejudicial to the literature of Persia, and even the caliphate of Bagdad, so auspicious to Arabian learning, must have discouraged the pretensions of the conquered country; but when, in the revolutions of the empire, Persia had become the principality of a great dynasty, which left to the caliphate but the empty show of power, the language of the country became again an object of attention, and was soon the rival of that of Arabia in improvement. From the end of the tenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth, the learning of Persia enjoyed its greatest prosperity. The year 411 of the hegyra, or the year 1033 of the Christian era, is marked as that of the death of Ferdousi[61], its most celebrated poet, who composed, in 120,000 verses, the history of the kings of his country. In this manner was the east provided with two cultivated languages, differing wholly in the characters of the productions, by which they have been respectively embellished, the Arabic[62] being characterised by a sententious conciseness, the Persian by a luxuriant redundance. To both the western countries of Europe have been much indebted, as while the language of Arabia conveyed to them the treasures of Grecian science, they have been furnished by both with the models and the imagery of romantic narration[63]. In the revolutions of the east the literary distinction of both languages has long been obscured. The invasions of Zingis-khan, and of Tamerlane, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, gave violent shocks to the peaceful refinements of learning; the Turks then extended their barbarous dominion from Europe even to the banks of the Tigris; and the distractions of the new monarchy, afterwards erected in Persia, completed the degradation of that interesting country.

---

[58] The sole survivor of the Ommiades, or caliphs of Damascus, established himself in Spain, and claimed the title of caliph in the year 756.—Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, par Koch, tome i. p. 51. Paris, 1814. Towards the year 908 a new caliphate was established in Africa, which, in the year 968, began to build Cairo, where its residence was settled.—Ibid. pp. 52, 53.

[59] This empire extended, in the year 995, from the city of Ferganah, in Transoxiana, or from the further side of the river Zagathay, to the sea-shore of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, towards the city Aden; in breadth from Natolia to Surat. To this is to be added the western territory, extending from Egypt through northern Africa into Spain, which was compared to the sleeve of a gown. Since that time Spain has been lost; but, on the other hand, besides the acquisition of the greater part of India, Mohammedanism has gained much on the side of Greece, Hungary, and Tatary.—D'Herbelot, art. *Eslam.*

[60] Richardson on Eastern Nations, p. 27, &c. Oxford, 1778.

The series of the successors of Mahommed was composed of three parts, of which the first comprehended five caliphs, his companions and grandson, the second was the dynasty of the Ommiades, or caliphs of Damascus, and the third was that of the Abbasides, or caliphs of Bagdad.

---

[61] D'Herbelot, art. *Ferdousi.* This poet was born at Tús, a city of Khorassan, about the year 950. His poem, which is called the Sháh Námeh, is a romance, not a history. The Sháh Námeh, by Joseph Atkinson, Esq. pref. viii. x. Lond. 1832.

[62] Richardson, p. 34.

[63] Dunlop's Hist. of Fiction, vol. i. ch. iii. Edinb. 1814.

In each of the two changes of the succession influences may be discovered, which produced important results.

In the elections of the earlier caliphs, Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, had been successively postponed to Abu Becr, Omar, and Othman, and was advanced to the caliphate only on the fourth vacancy, or twenty-four years after the death of Mohammed. The repeated disappointment, the chief cause of which is supposed to have been, that he had accused of adultery Ayesha, one of the wives of his father-in-law, excited the resentment of his followers, which was yet more exasperated, when his son Hasan, by whom he had been succeeded, was, after a few months, deposed by the first caliph of the Syrian dynasty, and soon afterwards put to death. The party thus formed was so firmly united, that it survived the dynasty of the Ommiades, which was superseded at the end of eighty-eight years; and as the Abbasides, who were connected with the family of Ali, retorted upon their predecessors the excommunication, with which the earlier of the Ommiades had denounced that family, its spirit was then revived and invigorated. But it was in the decline of the caliphate, when various independent princes partitioned the empire, that it was destined to manifest its influence. In the year 933[64], three centuries after the death of Mohammed, an independent dynasty, that of the Bowides, was established in Persia. The Bowides embraced the sect[65] of the followers of Ali, for the political had become a religious party, while the Turkish dynasties, which were also established within the empire, adopted that of their adversaries; and this discordance furnishing the strongest principle of antipathy between the Turks and Persians, has descended to later ages, and has contributed to maintain the distinctness of their respective governments, and to constitute Persia a counterpoise to the power of the Ottoman empire.

When the Ommiades were set aside by the Abbasides, another revolution was also generated, which was important to the independence of the Christian states. Abdalrhaman or Abderahman, seeing his family ruined by the removal of the caliphate to another dynasty, fled to

---

[64] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 455.

[65] Ibid. p. 416.

Spain[66] in the year 755, and was there recognized as the true successor of Mohammed. Spain was, in this manner, severed from the trunk of the empire. The independence of Spain, under the new and distinct caliphate, served to protect that of Christendom against the enterprises of the Arabs, for the Saracen government of Spain was itself engaged in hostility with the east, and disposed even to enter into friendly connexions with the governments of France and Constantinople.

The example of Spanish independence was imitated in Africa[67], where, in the year 908, a new dynasty was begun[68], which claimed to be descended from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, and wife of Ali, though the claim was acknowledged by one of themselves to depend upon the sword for its support. One of these caliphs, who, from that claim, were denominated Fatimites, established himself in Egypt in the year 972, and at the same time, acquired possession of Syria, and a great part of Arabia. This caliphate was suppressed in the year 1171, by the Turkish sultan of Syria.

The dominion of the Egyptian caliphate[69] was a real monarchy, while that of the caliphs of Bagdad was reduced to little more than a merely honorary dignity. The influences of this power have been noticed by the historian of the Roman empire[70]. A government resident in Egypt must have been peculiarly sensible of the advantage of maintaining such a commercial intercourse with the Christian states, as would convey to them the rich commerce of the east, through the only channel by which it could then be conducted. The power of a government thus friendly to the Christians, was also sufficiently near for controlling the emirs of Palestine, and thereby extending its amicable disposition to the protection of the numerous pilgrims of Europe, who resorted to Jerusalem. By the encouragement thus afforded to the prevailing superstition, that fanatical spirit was cherished, which afterwards excited the memorable crusades, when the Turkish dominion, established in Palestine, had opposed itself to the favourite practice of the Christians, and checked the fanaticism, which had been fostered by the indulgence of the Egyptian caliphs.

---

[66] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 455. [67] Hist. of the Arabs, vol. ii. p. 517. [68] Decline and Fall, vol. v. pp. 270, 271. [69] Ibid. p. 458. [70] Ibid. pp. 679, 680.

The empire of the Arabs, which had been the work of a military fanaticism, verged to its decline, as soon as their ardour received a new direction towards the refinement, which adorned the triumph of their arms. The suddenness too of its vast acquisitions had hindered them from being consolidated into one firmly united dominion, and the empire sunk in the weakness of its manifold divisions. Another moral instrument was accordingly brought into action, not fitted indeed for the splendid destinations of the Arabian empire, but possessing in its rudeness a character of greater stability, and not rendered unmanageable by an excessive magnitude. When the vigour of the southern conquerers had been dissolved in the luxury of empire, it seems to have been necessary, in Asia as in Europe, that the rougher nations of the north should be brought down upon the corrupted warriors of the south. The result of the commixture was, in this other case, less valuable, for it served merely to arrest the progress of depravation, not to generate a new and improved system of governments. As the refinement of the Arabs could not enter into comparison with the intellectual dignity of the ancient empire, neither could the hordes of Tatary be compared to the half-civilised barbarians of Germany.

A pretended prophet, appealing to their reason and their imagination, excited and directed the first energies of the Arabs. A warrior, exercising no other power of persuasion than that of more skilful and more determined violence[71], collected the hordes of the Tatarian plains into one formidable dominion, and began the war which ended in the ruin of the Arabian empire. Zingis-khan[72], though he despised the idolatry of his countrymen, and maintained the unity of God, pretended to no revelation[73], and interfered not with the religion of his followers. He accepted, indeed, his title of Zingis[74], or *greatest*, from one who was considered as a saint, and affected to be a prophet; but this occurred at the solemnity of his advancement to the dignity of khan, when the solid foundations of his power had been already laid, and it does not appear that any specific use was ever made of the occurrence.

---

[71] Of his severity he exhibited a characteristic example by plunging into seventy caldrons, filled with boiling oil, as many leaders of rebellion.—Hist. Généal. des Tatars d'Abulgasi Bayadur Chan. Leyde, 1726.

[72] Zingis, though a pagan, may have had some knowledge of Christianity, for his mother was a Christian, the daughter of that Tatar prince, who has been named Prester-John, or Presbyter-John, probably because he concerned himself in regulating the church of his country.—Supp. of D'Herbelot, p. 313. Haye, 1779. The laws

This hero of barbarism[75] was born in the year 1164. At the age of thirteen years, he was left by his father, the khan of thirty or forty thousand families, to struggle for the succession; and at that of forty, he found himself sufficiently powerful to assume the dignity which his father had enjoyed. Soon after this event, he reduced under his government the remaining tribes of the Moguls, effected the conquest of the northern provinces of China[76], and then united in one empire all the tribes of Tatary[77]. It

---

of Zingis, however, contain only maxims of natural religion, inculcating the unity of God, and prohibiting idolatry.—D'Herbelot, art. *Taourat-al-Ginghizkhaniat*. In another article, *Ginghizkhaniah*, D'Herbelot says, that these laws were an *octclogue*, containing all the precepts of the Decalogue except that ordaining the observance of a sabbath. The ninth emperor of the Moguls embraced Mohammedanism in the year 1282.—Ibid. art. *Ahmed-Khan*. Gazan, who succeeded in the year 1294, was the first who proselyted the people.—Hist. Généal. des Tatars, p. 423.

[73] Gibbon has described this prince as establishing his empire on the basis of superstition, deriving him, by a miraculous birth, from a *virgin-mother*.—Decline and Fall, vol. iii. p. 358. Of the authorities, to which he refers his readers, the chief are the Genealogical History of the Tatars, and the Life of Genghizcan, by De la Croix; these, however, attribute the miraculous birth not to a virgin, but to a widow, who had been already the mother of two sons; and not to the mother of Zingis-khan, but to a female ancestor, removed by nine generations. D'Herbelot has reasonably inferred, from a passage of Khondemir, the Persian historian, that the story is a Christian tradition, applied to the purpose of ennobling the origin of all the great families of the Turks, the Moguls, and the Tatars—Art. *Alancava* or *Alancova*.

[74] His proper name was Tamuzin.

[75] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 156, &c.

[76] China had been divided into two empires, or dynasties, of the north and south. The northern empire, which was dismembered by Zingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death, or in the year 1234. The southern was reduced about forty-five years afterwards.—Decline and Fall, vol. vi. pp. 297, 298.

[77] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 238.

does not appear to have been his wish to attack the Arabian dominion. Though the caliph of Bagdad[78] solicited him to direct his arms against the powerful sultan of Carizme, who had established his authority from the Persian Gulf to the territory of Zingis, he preserved an amicable connexion; nor was he induced to resort to hostilities, until a massacre of a caravan of his trading subjects, and of some ambassadors, by whom it was accompanied, had been perpetrated by the order of the sultan. Enraged at this violence, though he had himself previously plundered the traders of Carizme, he began, in the year 1218, the war with the Persian empire, which, after forty years, was terminated by his grandson Holagou, who possessed himself of Bagdad, and suppressed the caliphate.

Within this short period of sixty-eight years from the death of Zingis[79], the Moguls subdued almost the whole of Asia. The fate of Hindostan was peculiar, and deserves to be noticed. In the year 1205[80], the empire of Ghizni had been partitioned by two usurpers, of whom Cuttub, already viceroy of the Indian territories, became the founder of the Patan or Affghan dynasty of that country, while the other kept possession of Ghizni and the northern provinces. If the Mohammedan government of Hindostan, of so recent an origin, had shared the same fortune with the rest of Asia, the country could have received little benefit from its establishment. We accordingly observe, that the destroyer turned aside, and its overthrow was postponed an hundred and forty years, to be then effected by Temurleng or Tamerlane. That Hindostan was not swallowed up in the earlier irruption of the Tatars[81] is attributed, by the translator of Ferishta, to the anxiety felt by Zingis for completing the conquest of China.

---

[78] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 240.

[79] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 294.

[80] Dow's Transl. of Ferishta, vol. i. p. 170.

[81] Ibid. p. 191.

CHAPTER III.

Of the history of Italy, from the suppression of the western empire in the year 476, to that of the kingdom of the Lombards in the year 774.

Odoacer suppresses the western empire in the year 476—Theodoric begins the Gothic kingdom of Italy, 493—The Gothic kingdom overthrown by the Greek empire, 553—Alboin begins the Lombard kingdom, 569—The feudal polity begun in Lombardy, 584—Gregory I., the founder of the papal monarchy, pope, 590—Donation of Pepin, 755—The Lombard kingdom overthrown by Charlemagne, 774.

In this enquiry into the formation of the system of Europe, Italy has a claim to be considered before any of the other governments, of which it was composed. As this country had contained the seat of the ancient empire, it retained a predominant influence on the establishments formed within its territory, and even became the seat of a new monarchy over the consciences of men, which, though professing to be of a spiritual character, controlled all their political interests; and, for the same reason also, together with the proximity of the still subsisting empire of the east, it was qualified to communicate, in a more auspicious period, to the other countries of the west, a knowledge of the arts and literature of antiquity, and an acquaintance with the refinements of cultivated life. Italy was accordingly the connecting bond of ancient and modern history. Its policy has been the moral isthmus, by which human improvement was transmitted from the historic continent of the ancient governments to that of the more extended combinations of modern ages.

In the year 476 the western empire was terminated by the deposition of Augustulus. Rome, the fortune of which has marked the limit between the two portions of the history of our species, appears to have been fitted for its distinguished destiny by the circumstances of its local situation. Placed in a sterile soil[1], its inhabitants were originally stimulated to exertion by the necessity of labouring for subsistence, and were long retained in those habits of moderation and hardihood, so favourable to the conquest of the world. Bordered on the one side by the early refinement of the Tuscan[2], and on the other by a number of small and independent communities, they were commodiously stationed, both for acquiring the improvement of a cultivated people, and for undergoing the severe, but salutary discipline, of a long succession of military struggles. Communicating, at no considerable distance, with the Grecian colonies established[3] in the southern region of Italy, they were enabled, in their progress towards greatness, to add the legislation of Greece to the arts of Hetruria. It is not wonderful, that in a position adapted in so many particulars to the growth of an empire[4], a deep and mighty root should have been struck which threw up a trunk overshadowing the ancient world, and, when that trunk had been levelled with the earth, again spread over the west the branches of a new dominion.

---

[1] The Roman soldiers so described the vicinity of their city in

The barbarians, though they suppressed the empire,

---

comparison with that of Capua: an æquum esse dedititios suos illâ fertilitate atque amœnitate perfrui; se, militando fessos, in pestilenti atque arido circa urbem solo luctari?—Liv. lib. vii. cap. xxxviii.

[2] The Tuscans are supposed to have settled in Italy more than two centuries before the building of Rome. From this people has been derived an order of architecture; and the most ancient arches which are known (if the *cloacæ* of Rome, as constructed by Tarquin, were indeed arched, see Edinburgh Rev., Jan. 1806, p. 453), are of Tuscan origin. From them too the Romans received much of their religious ceremonies. Strabo agrees with Herodotus in tracing their origin to Lydia. Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, dissents; yet a concurrence of ancient testimony makes it appear probable, that they had migrated from the shores of the Ægean sea, and that, like the Greeks, they were, at least in part, of the Pelasgian race.—Mitford's History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 276. Lond. 1814.

[3] To this country, it is probable, were sent those ambassadors who brought back to Rome the laws of the twelve tables.—Decline and Fall, &c. vol. iv. p. 336.

[4] In the fourteenth century, when the pope was resident at Avignon, it was proposed to him to punish Rome and Italy, by transferring the papacy and the empire to Cahors and Gascony; but he replied, that the consequence would only be, that his successors should be bishops of Cahors, and the emperors governors of Gascony, while Rome would always be the capital of the world.—Mem, pour la Vie de Petrarque, tome i. p. 256. Amst. 1764.

were solicitous to preserve, as much as possible, its civil institutions. Odoacer, under whose conduct they had put an end to the empire, protected, during about seventeen years, the ruins of the Roman greatness, administering with clemency the existing laws, and maintaining the internal tranquillity and the external security of Italy. The forms of the Roman magistracy were retained by the barbarian, who had been himself distinguished by the title of patrician; and Romans alone were, under his government, appointed to fill the civil offices of the state. The Romans being thus gently habituated to the rule of their new masters, Theodoric, who succeeded Odoacer[5], derived from his usurpation the same advantage, which the first emperor had received from the dictatorship of Cæsar.

While the government of Odoacer formed the best preparation for the Gothic kingdom of Italy, some special circumstances also prepared the individual, who afterwards erected there a regular monarchy, though still in professed subordination to the imperial authority, as it continued to exist in Constantinople. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, had, in early youth, been delivered by his father to the eastern emperor as an hostage, and had remained at Constantinople thirteen years, in which time he received a careful, though but a military education[6]. When he afterwards became formidable to the Grecian emperor, that feeble monarch could devise no better expedient for repressing his ambition, than to name him captain of his guards, and to heap on him the most honourable distinctions. When he had at length succeeded to the Gothic government, he was encouraged, or permitted, to lead his countrymen into Italy, as the ally of the empire, that he might wrest it from the other barbarians, by whom it was then possessed. His countrymen also had been prepared for their incorporation with the Italians by a long residence within the limits of the imperial dominions, having, forty years before, obtained permission to occupy Pannonia, a province described as then adorned with many cities.

---

[5] Revol. d'Italie, par Denina, tome ii. p. 16. Paris, 1770—1775.

[6] Not having learned to write even his own name, he was obliged to sign the orders of his government by passing a pen through the openings of a plate of gold, which had been pierced with five letters of his name, *Theod.*—Abrége Chron. de l'Hist. Gen. d'Italie, tome i. p. 55. Paris, 1701.

The Gothic kingdom of Italy, which was established in the year 493, subsisted sixty years, of which thirty-three were occupied by the reign of Theodoric. Having come into Italy as the friend of the emperor[7], he was received with little opposition, and was not provoked to any measures of general severity or violence[8]. He accordingly retained the former laws, magistrates, polity, and distribution of the provinces[9], and on every occasion testified his desire of adhering to the ancient usages. Odoacer[10] had become master of Italy by engaging to bestow upon his followers the third part of the lands. When, therefore, Theodoric overthrew his power[11], he was enabled to gratify the Goths by transferring to them the lands of which the ancient proprietors had been already dispossessed, without any new violation of the property of the Italians. He chose, indeed, to assume the title of king, as already familiar to his barbarian subjects; but, in every other respect, he endeavoured to accommodate his government to the customs of Italy[12], and it has been remarked, that, as Augustus introduced the imperial authority under the forms of a republic, so did Theodoric establish a Gothic monarchy on the usages of Rome. The Roman laws he so far respected[13], that he directed that those of the Goths should be observed only in the determination of disputes among themselves, but that in dispute between a Goth and a Roman, equally as in a difference between two Romans, the decision should be made agreeably to those of the empire.

The name of Goth has become synonymous to barbarous rudeness, as if the introduction of that nation into the empire had been fatal to the refinement of a more improved society. How unfounded was this notion may appear from unexceptionable testimonies. Giannone[14] has borne testimony to the magnificence of the public works executed at Rome and Ravenna under the direction of Theodoric; and Maffei[15] has attributed to the Italians themselves both the corruption of the language of Italy, and even that style of architecture, which has been denominated Gothic. The founder of the Gothic monarchy, indeed, far from being insensible to the elegancies of art, appointed officers to superintend their preservation[16], and granted a liberal provision for repairing the public works. Nor was his reign undistinguished even in respect to literary refinement. The younger Cassiodorius and Boethius, his ministers, were eminent for literary genius[17]; and the professors of grammar, rhetoric, and jurisprudence were maintained at Rome in their privileges and pensions by his protection and liberality. His encouragement of literature, however, was limited to his Roman subjects[18], for the Goths he wished to retain in all their native boldness, not controlled by the discipline of a school.

---

[7] Abrége Chron. de l'Hist. Gen. d'Italie, tome i. p. 61, &c.

[8] His reign was, however, disgraced by the execution of Boethius, the last of the latin writers who can be considered as not barbarous.

[9] Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 22. [10] Procopii Gotthicæ Hist. lib. i.

[11] Ibid. [12] Revol. d'Italie, tome i. pp 48, 49. [13] Giannone, lib. iii. cap. ii. sez. ii. [14] Ibid. sez. vi.

The Gothic kingdom of Italy was not less considerable in its external relations, than it was internally favourable to the restoration of the country. Sicily, so important to the subsistence of the Italians, submitted to the power of Theodoric[19]; his arms subdued the ruder nations, which occupied the northern provinces of the western empire; and under the pretext of maintaining the interest of his grandson, the infant prince of the Visigoths, he possessed himself of the kingdom, which that people had formed in the southern provinces of Gaul, and in Spain. At his death, indeed, Theodoric directed that Spain should be assigned to the young prince; but he annexed the Gallic provinces to the Italian kingdom, which he bequeathed to another grandson.

---

[15] Verona Illustrata, part iii. cap. iv. [16] Decline and Fall, &c. iv. pp. 25, 26. [17] Ibid. p. 34. [18] Procopii Gotthicæ Hist. lib. i.

[19] Sicily had been seized by Genseric, king of the African Vandals. Odoacer persuaded Genseric to cede almost the whole of it to him, in consideration of an annual tribute; and through the influence of Cassiodorius, who commanded the troops, it submitted to Theodoric.—Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 3—24. The dominions of Theodoric, besides Italy and Sicily, comprehended, in Germany, the ancient country of the Suevi or Suabia, and the two Rhetias, which included the territories of the Grisons, Trent, and the Tirol; further towards the north, Dalmatia, Noricum, and almost all Pannonia; in Gaul, Provence, the territory of Marseilles, the province of Narbonne, and that part of Aquitaine of which Carcassone was the capital.—Ibid. p. 8—24. The daughter of Theodoric afterwards ceded the Gallic provinces between the Rhone and the Pyrenees to the young prince of the Visigoths—Ibid. p. 60.

The vigour of the Gothic kingdom, under which Italy[20] exhibited appearances of renewed prosperity, was maintained, during the reign of the young prince, by the able conduct of his mother, the widowed daughter of Theodoric. He, however, fell an early victim to his excesses, and his reign was terminated at the expiration of eight years, so that of the sixty years which were comprised in the duration of this Gothic monarchy, forty-one formed the period of its vigour, and nineteen that of its decline. Athalaric, the grandson of Theodoric, having died in his minority, his mother[21] was permitted to raise to the royal dignity one of her cousins, in whose name she proposed to continue her government of the kingdom. The object of her choice, however, soon caused his benefactress to be put to death, that he might free himself from control; and this violence furnished a pretext to the Emperor Justinian[22] for interposing in the affairs of Italy. The Gothic history of Italy was, thenceforward, a series of struggles with the imperial power, which ended in the overthrow of the Goths, yet rendered illustrious by the reign of the humane, the pious, and the heroic Totila.

The famed Belisarius, the general of Justinian, had crushed the African monarchy[23] of the Vandals, when he was sent to reduce to subjection the Goths of Italy. These might have defied the feeble efforts of the emperor, if they had not been directed by such commanders as Belisarius, and Narses[24], by whom the former was succeeded. In this manner was overthrown a dominion, which, with the government of Odoacer preceding and introducing it, may be regarded as instrumental to the restoration of the Italian character, by exhibiting to the conquered people the example of energies, which in the indulgence of prosperity, and the meanness of servitude, they had long forgotten.

---

[20] Decline and Fall, vol. iv. p. 26—28. Revol. d'Italie, tome ii. p. 60, &c. [21] Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 76. [22] Ibid. p. 84.

[23] Founded by Genseric, in the year 429, it subsisted 105 years. —Decline and Fall, vol. iii. p. 339; vol. iv. p. 146. [24] This eunuch, having enjoyed a greater portion of favour with the emperor, took care to be better furnished.—Ibid. vol. iv. p. 299.

The victories of the imperial troops, though they destroyed the dominion of the Goths, could not establish for the empire a permanent authority in Italy. Distracted by a war with Persia, and by the incursions of the tribes of Scythia, Justinian had never supported his generals with supplies[25]: and his successor, Justin, was even induced to recall Narses, who had completed the successes of Belisarius, and had administered the government during fifteen years. In the following year the Lombards entered the country, and established a new sovereignty of much longer duration than that of the Goths.

This short interval, interposed between the two barbarian monarchies, was not, as might be supposed, a mere suspension of the progress of the new political order, but was itself the period of an important arrangement, by which preparation was made for the feudal institutions afterwards established by the Lombards. The provincial magistracies of Italy, which had been preserved by the Goths, were all suppressed by Narses, who[26] introduced in their place a military government, adapted to the exposed situation of the country. Each of the principal cities was committed to the care of a military leader or duke, and these were superintended by one general commander, who, with the title of exarch, resided at Ravenna.

The Lombards[27], who had been forty-two years settled in the neighbouring province of Pannonia, were tempted to endeavour to possess themselves of a country, in which many of them had served under Narses, and Alboin, their king, had a claim to the succession of the Gothic sovereigns[28]. This people, having marched into Italy in the year 568, acquired, before its expiration, a district, of which was formed the duchy of Friuli. The removal of Narses having withdrawn the only commander capable of opposing them in the field, they proceeded, in the following year, through the country, without encountering any considerable resistance, and at length became masters of all the provinces of northern Italy except the district of Ravenna, and also of the great duchy of Benevento[29], on the other side of Rome, which city they did not venture to assail.

---

[25] Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 144. [26] Maffei, Verona Illustrata, part i. lib. x. p. 257—289. Giannone ascribes the institution to Longinus, who succeeded Narses a few months before the invasion of the Lombards.—Lib. iii. cap. v. [27] Pauli Warnefride de Gestis Langobardorum, cap. vii. [28] He was grandson of Amalefrede, the sister of Theodoric; and therefore, also nephew to her son, who was the third of the Gothic kings of Italy.—Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 156.

The Lombard kingdom was considerably less extensive than that of the Goths. Far from comprehending Sicily, and several provinces beyond the Alps, it did not even comprise the whole of Italy itself, but maintained with the Greek empire a continued struggle for preserving the possession of a part of that country. That struggle was, however, effectual, and the government was enabled to subsist, until the policy of Rome brought against it a new and more formidable enemy from the other side of the Alps. What, therefore, it wanted in extent, was compensated in duration, the Lombard kingdom having subsisted two hundred and five years, and that of the Goths having been limited to sixty.

The whole interval of nearly two hundred and ninety-eight years, which intervened between the suppression of the western empire and the reduction of the Lombards, may be considered as comprehending the duration of two monarchies, with two periods respectively preparatory to them, the government of Odoacer having introduced that of the Goths, as the temporary restoration of the imperial dominion was introductory to that of the Lombards. More than two-thirds of the whole period, however, was occupied by the Lombard kingdom, which will be shown to have possessed a proportional importance. The Gothic kingdom appears to have served to recover the Italian character from the deep degradation, into which it had been sunk, and to prepare it generally for entering into new combinations of policy. The establishment of the Lombard kingdom seems to have included two grand processes, directly and essentially influencing the form and the operations of the future system, the construction of the feudal polity, and the aggrandisement of the Bishop of Rome.

---

[29] The establishment at Benevento had probably been first formed by some of the Lombards, who had served in the army of Narses.—Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 177—179.

The feudal polity[30], which arose, indeed, naturally out of the circumstances and manners of the barbarian conquerors of the empire, and had probably existed from their earliest acquisitions in some imperfect form, received from the Lombards of Italy its first regular establishment, and[31] its earliest system of legislative provisions. Alboin, the founder of the Lombard kingdom of Italy, intrusted to dukes, like the imperial governor, the command of the several districts of his new territory. Within two years after his death[32], and about seven after the invasion of Italy, the royal government was suppressed, and the dukes became so many independent princes united in a confederacy. The Grecian emperor having induced one of the kings of the French to attack the Lombards, the thirty-six dukes, when the suspension of royalty had continued more than nine years, became apprehensive for their safety, and determined to elect another sovereign. The new king found it necessary to enter into a compromise with subjects, to whom he owed his elevation, and by whom the revenues of the state had been engrossed. It was accordingly agreed that each duke should resign to the crown the half of his revenue, and provide a body of troops to be subject to its disposal, in return for which concessions it was also agreed, that the duchies should be independent and hereditary, being liable to forfeiture only for felony, and revertible to the crown only when the possessor should die without leaving a son of full age. This convention, which was made in the year 584, may be considered as the formal beginning of the feudal law of Europe.

Nor was it singly by this arrangement, that the Italian Lombards have become entitled to be regarded as the founders of the feudal polity. The Goths[33], in their veneration for the Roman law, had introduced only such new regulations as were required by the circumstances of the new inhabitants of Italy, not proposing to substitute a different system for the imperial jurisprudence. To this measure, however, the Lombards were driven by the necessity of their situation, and from it may be in part derived their more lasting possession of the Italian provinces. Few[34] in number, in comparison with other barbarous nations, they were compelled to maintain their position by a military combination; and, opposed to the imperial power[35] in a near hostility, they were forced to discard the hope of establishing their own dominion on the ancient foundation, and found it indispensably necessary to frame a new government with all possible regularity and consistency. Several of their princes[36] were accordingly attentive to the work of legislation, and Grotius[37] has dared to prefer the result of their labours even to the laws of Justinian, accounting for its excellence by the advantage, which must belong to laws deliberately framed in public councils, instead of emanating from the will of an individual. The administration of the law[38] appears to have been consonant to the merits of the code; and Giannone has ascribed to the representations of the popes, whose measures that people opposed, the unfavourable character, which has been given of them by historians.

---

[30] The distinguishing characteristic of these tenures is the rude liberty by which they were accompanied. Any nation might find it expedient to establish military tenures, but the establishments of modern Europe connected with them the practice of public councils, and of equal trials, and formed the whole into a regular system of jurisprudence.

[31] Giannone, lib. iv. cap. i. sez. 3.

[32] Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 174, etc.

---

[33] Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 36, etc. Giannone, lib. iii. cap. ii. sez. 2, 5.

[34] Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed prœliis et periclitando tuti sunt.—Tacit. de Mor. Germ. cap. 40. Among the associates with whom they recruited their number for the invasion of Italy, were twenty thousand Saxons, who soon afterwards returned to Germany.—Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 176.

[35] The main possessions of the Lombards were flanked by the exarchate of Ravenna, and their communication with Benevento was interrupted by the territory of Rome.

[36] In the year 643, King Rotharis promulgated the first code of Lombard laws.—Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 236. His example was followed by many of his successors, none of whom, however, introduced so many.—Giannone, lib. iv. cap. vi. Gunterus, secretary to the Emperor Frederick I., has thus described the Lombards in his Ligurino, as the same historian has mentioned, lib. v. cap. v.

> Gens astuta, sagax, prudens, industria, solers,
> Provida consilio, *legum*, *jurisque perita*.

[37] Prol. in Hist. Gotthorum, etc., cap. iv.

[38] Giannone, lib. v. cap. iv.

With the political circumstances of the Lombards some contingencies had curiously co-operated, in generating their feudal polity. The reign of Alboin, the founder of the Lombard kingdom, had lasted but three years and a half, when he perished by the hand of an assassin, leaving no male issue. The kingdom thus became elective, and gave the nobles an early opportunity of exercising power in the choice of a successor. That successor, by his cruelty, alienated them from a government, which Alboin had not lived long enough to confirm; he also was slain by an assassin, at the close of the yet shorter period of eighteen months, and the minority of his son[39] probably suggested the measure of suppressing the royal dignity, and establishing an aristocracy.

The original process of the modern polity of Europe was thus the combined result of general causes and of personal contingencies. When the temporary government of the Greeks had removed out of the way the provincial magistracies of the fallen empire, and had substituted for them a military organisation, the political situation of the Lombards naturally suggested the policy of adopting the new arrangement, and dividing their acquisitions among a number of chieftains, denominated also dukes. This military administration was then converted into a feudal polity, by the transitory reigns of two successive princes, the elective succession of the latter, his tyranny, and the minority of his son, which contingencies urged the nobles to the assumption of the government.

The other important operation of the Lombard government consisted in favouring the aggrandisement of the papacy. The divine providence has permitted, that the Roman prelates should acquire a great importance in the political arrangements of Europe, especially in the earlier ages of its modern history; and however the doctrines, which they promulgated and maintained, may have differed from the simple truth of the Gospel, and the violences, which they prompted, may have been at variance with its pacific forbearance, their influence notwithstanding may have been beneficially exercised in forming the policy of the western nations, and even in transmitting through a long period of barbarism and ignorance the main principles of our religion, as a wise providence renders other human abuses instrumental to its gracious purposes.

---

[39] Abrége Chron. tome i. p. 174.

When the combinations of the western empire had been destroyed by the conquests of the rude nations of the north, and new and distinct communities had been gradually formed in its several provinces, it is probable that a general experience of calamity might at length have suggested, that it would be a common advantage to unite them in some relations of a federative policy. But the formation of these connexions must have proceeded very slowly, and the relations so formed would probably have been very imperfect, if no power had existed among them, at once interested in maintaining an intimate communication throughout all their regions, and possessing means, by which this might be effected. Such a power existed in the prelacy of the imperial city, and the new masters of the west were soon induced to acknowledge an ecclesiastical supremacy to be vested in that see, which could not fail to exercise a powerful influence on their temporal concerns. Looking to the ancient seat of empire with the veneration conceived to be due to the centre of Christian unity, and having everywhere among themselves a numerous body of men attached to that common centre by the powerful ties of opinion, of interest, and of habit, they were constrained to political combination by ligaments so strong and so pervading, that ages of barbarism must have been spared, and the most difficult process of civilised society, that of constituting international relations, at once accelerated and improved.

If religion had not spoken to the conquerors of the west the language of peace and union, how long must the disorder of Europe have been continued, how difficult must it have been for men, trained only to arms and contention, to discover for themselves the practicability of connecting various nations in a system of comprehensive policy, and adjusting their disputes by other means than war! The religion by which they were addressed was not pure, the motive prompting the appeal was selfish and ambitious, but still the interposition was that of a power interested in the general maintenance of peace, because its authority was founded on another basis than military power. If it was only in a period of ignorance and barbarism that the Romish hierarchy could acquire its ascendency, we should recollect that its tranquillizing efficacy was, in return, specially accommodated to the exigencies of such a crisis of human society.

So forcibly had the retrospect impressed the imagination of Leibnitz, that, in a very different situation of the European world, he ventured to express an opinion[40], that it would be beneficial to allow the Roman pontiff some temporal jurisdiction over Christian princes, as the most efficacious means of securing the enjoyment of peace. But in the time of this philosopher the state of the system was changed, and the influence of the papacy, though still important, had received a different direction. The ages of violence required a principle of union, and this was supplied by the universal supremacy of the see of Rome; a period of improvement required a principle of equilibrium, and this was furnished by the mutual opposition of the two great sects of Protestants and Roman Catholics. If a general supremacy could have been allowed in the time of Leibnitz, it would but have thrust back the European states to that earlier period, in which the principle of political equilibrium had not yet been developed. But the wise providence of God appears to have accommodated the influence of the papacy to the changing form of the system. When this was yet too imperfect to be susceptible of a balanced arrangement of its states, and was even liable to be dissolved and destroyed by the want of coherence, the see of Rome drew its parts into union by the general exercise of a supreme authority. The very excesses of this supremacy, however, in the progress of time gave being to a resistance, which, in an age of reflection, generated a countervailing party, and thus furnished a support for the mutual struggle of states, indispensable to the maintenance of political equilibrium.

The inferior arrangements of the Romish hierarchy exercised a beneficial influence on the rising order of things, independently of the relations, in which they stood to the supremacy of Rome. The temporal greatness of the prelates was useful in counteracting the power of a turbulent nobility, and on this account was favoured by the ablest sovereigns. The enforced celibacy of the clergy, while it rivetted their attachment to the see of Rome, served in ages of ignorance and confusion to maintain[41] the distinctness, and consequently the influence, of the clerical character, which perhaps could not then have been so effectually preserved by any other expedient, as by an entire separation from the ordinary engagements of society; and probably without it the endowments of the church would, like feudal benefices, have become hereditary and secularised. This regulation also, in an age of recovering reason, contributed powerfully to the reformation of religion, as[42] the abuses, which it necessarily occasioned, outraged at length the moral sentiments of men, and urged them to question the authority by which it had been sanctioned. The monastic bodies too, the great supports of the papacy as they controlled the secular clergy, are entitled to be considered as having once been most[43] beneficial institutions in their direct operation on society. Amidst the desolations of barbarous chieftains, the monastic bodies reclaimed by industrious cultivation the surrounding wastes; during the ignorance of those days of violence, the literature of antiquity was preserved in their libraries, and even some imperfect acquaintance with it was cherished among their members; and the numerous victims of the public disorders found, in the privileged seclusion of the monastic life, an inviolable asylum from the persecutions of lawless tyranny.

---

[40] De Jure Suprematus; Operum, tom. iv. partis iii. p. 401—404. Lettre ii. à M. Grimarest, tom. v. pp. 65, 66.

---

[41] This observation receives confirmation from the degraded character of the secular clergy of the present Greek church in Greece, in which they are married men.—Douglas's Essay on the Resemblance between the Ancient and Modern Greeks, p. 69. Lond. 1813.

[42] This seems to have been a principal exciting cause of the Helvetic Reformation.—Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, par Ruchat, Disc. Prel. sect. 9. In Germany it powerfully co-operated with that other abuse of indulgences.—Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. i. p. 29. The pre-eminent profligacy of Rome itself was, in the year 1537, strongly represented to the pontiff by a committee of reform, which he had himself nominated—Sleidani Com. lib. xii.

[43] Sir F. M. Eden has borne a strong testimony to the beneficial influence of the monastic establishments on the state of industry, ascribing to them in particular the earliest improvements of agriculture in England, and describing them as mild and indulgent landlords.—Hist. of the Poor, vol. i. p. 50. Mr. Chalmers has described the monks of Scotland as having been very useful in the character of trading and banking corporations, when they alone possessed capital, and boroughs had scarcely an existence.—Caledonia, vol. i. p. 782—785. Lond. 1807.

Perhaps no more remarkable instance can be found of that transplantation of habits and opinions, which has been mentioned in the Introduction, than the establishment of monkery in Europe. It seems as if the forlorn and sultry stillness of an African desert was the only situation in which it could originate, and yet it has exercised a most important influence on the crowded and complicated society of a temperate region. The solitudes of Egypt were, in the fourth century, the parent country of this institution. From Egypt[44] it was, in the same century, carried into Greece, by Basil bishop of Cæsarea, and there embraced at once by the warm imagination of its ardent people; but though, perhaps, even an earlier attempt had been made to establish it in Italy, it was only in the year 529, that Benedict gave a beginning to the prevailing organisation of the monastic bodies of the west. But the exotic, though it was capable of enduring this transplantation, did not retain the vigour, with which it had flourished in the place of its early growth. 'The monastic orders,' says Mosheim[45], 'in general, abounded with 'fanatics and profligates; the latter were more numerous 'than the former in the western convents, while in those 'of the east the fanatics were predominant.' In Egypt, we may suppose that the monks were exclusively fanatics, so that the degeneracy of the institution seems to have corresponded with sufficient accuracy to the change of situation and circumstances.

For becoming the centre of this great hierarchy, the ancient seat of Roman greatness possessed peculiar advantages. The other bishops of the west were disposed by habit to venerate the prelate of the former capital of the western world, and an honorary pre-eminence had accordingly been allowed to the bishop of Rome by Cyprian, in the third century[46]. In the contentions too of the western bishops, it was natural to look for the arbitration of him, who exercised his ecclesiastical authority where temporal power had been so long wielded; and though arbitration only was solicited, yet the transition was easy from an acknowledged precedency of rank, and a freely desired arbitration, to a peremptory assumption of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The superiority, thus arising from local circumstance, was favoured by the tradition[47], that Rome had been visited by the apostle Peter, to whom it was conceived that Jesus Christ had granted the primacy of the Christian church, though his words mean only that this apostle should lay its foundations. The distinguished apostle being claimed as the first Roman bishop, it was inferred that his imagined superiority must have been transmitted to his successors, and thus that all the prelates of that see were, by divine appointment, the vicars of our Lord.

---

[44] F. Paul on Eccles. Benef., ch. 8; Mosheim, cent. 6. part ii. ch. 2. sect. 6, 7.

[45] Mosheim, ibid. sec. 5.

Other causes, however, would have been insufficient, if political circumstances had not permitted, and even enabled, the Roman pontiffs to acquire a secular importance, which gave force to their declarations of ecclesiastical authority. Of these the primary one was the removal of the imperial residence from Rome. It was only in the absence of a superior authority, that the bishopric of the imperial city could spread itself into the dimensions of a general primacy of the church. A distant emperor could not easily control the aspirings of the Roman bishop, or at all times even influence his election; and, while the attention of the government was diverted by the exigencies of the public affairs, it was often necessary that he should assume a political character, and exert his best efforts to provide for the general safety. This favourable removal of a superior authority occurred before the conclusion of the third century[48], when Maximinian and Diocletian fixed their ordinary residence in provincial cities, the former at Milan, the latter at Nicomedia.

---

[46] Mosheim, cent. 3. part ii. ch. 2. sect. 2.

[47] This tradition, though much disputed, has been received by Lardner, who however concluded, that Peter could not have gone to Rome before the year 63, or perhaps 64, and that he suffered martyrdom there in the year 64 or 65.—Lardner's Works, vol. vi. p. 551. Lond. 1788. It is remarkable that Peter, whom the Romanists claim as their first pontiff, should alone of the apostles have fallen into error in the direction of the church.

The mere removal of the imperial residence, though favourable to the formation of the papal power, was not sufficient for allowing its aggrandisement, because a vigorous government might, even from Milan, have controlled the Roman prelate; and it is certain that Theodoric[49], whose government was but a new modification of the imperial government[50], did maintain over the see of Rome a decisive superiority. This remaining restraint was removed by the limitation of the kingdom of the Lombards, which was itself independent of the empire, and was so confined in territory as to leave the papacy on the confine of two contending sovereignties. The Gothic kingdom had comprehended the entire peninsula, and was in truth but the Roman government under a Gothic sovereign. When, too, the generals of Justinian had destroyed the dominion of the Goths, the whole peninsula was subjected to the Grecian emperor. The establishment of the Lombard kingdom at length gave a beginning to the division, which permitted the bishop of Rome to assert his independence, and afforded a field for his policy in balancing[51] the contending interests of the neighbouring governments.

---

[48] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. i. p. 457.

[49] This prince and his successors regulated the elections of the Roman bishops, and decided the dissensions, which these had already begun to occasion; determined the degrees of consanguinity, within which marriages might not be contracted; and forbade their subjects to dedicate themselves, without their permission, to the church, or to the monastic life.—Giannone, lib. iii. cap. 6. sez. 3.

[50] Sigonius has accordingly included the history of the Gothic kings in his history of the western empire.

[51] This has been, accordingly, marked by Machiavel as the time when the papal ambition began to be indulged.—Hist. of Florence, book i. The influence of the divisions of Italy appears to have been well understood in the papal court in the time of Petrarch. When, in a circle of cardinals and prelates, it was considered whether it would be useful that these divisions should cease, a great personage, respected for his superior understanding and knowledge, but whom Petrarch has not named, declared that nothing could be more prejudicial, a sentiment applauded by all present.—Mém. pour la Vie de Pétrarque, tome ii. p. 374.

It thus appears that the kingdom of the Lombards exercised a two-fold influence in the commencement of the political arrangements of Europe, on account of which, the establishment of that kingdom may justly be regarded as the parent—incident of its modern polity. The Lombard kingdom, by its internal arrangements, gave a beginning to that system of feudal administration, which was adopted into each separate government, and by its political position gave occasion to that aggrandisement of the papacy, which was the powerful instrument for effecting their mutual combination.

Among the particulars of the original arrangements of the modern history of Europe, it deserves notice that the barbarian nations, the Franks, Saxons, and Suevi, alone excepted, attached themselves to the Arian doctrine of Christianity, which had been first taught in the philosophic school of Alexandria, a remarkable example of the propagation of a foreign opinion. The Goths in particular[52] had received the knowledge of Christianity, according to this doctrine, before they entered within the limits of the empire. Those of them, however, who were established in Italy, manifested[53] no hostility towards the church of Rome, which adhered to the Nicene doctrine; and from them the Lombards adopted[54], with the principles of Arianism, the mildness of a very liberal toleration. The latter people, indeed, tended rapidly towards the tenets of the church of Rome, which at length became the religion of the government in the reign of Grimoald, who succeeded to the throne ninety-three years after the commencement of the kingdom. The previous discordancy of religious opinion appears to have been beneficial in moderating the growth of the papacy, for Giannone has derived from the abolition of Arianism in Italy the riches and the depravation of the church. The principal influence, however, of the heretical religion of the Goths was manifested in

---

[52] Salvian attributes this to Valens, and the teachers whom he sent.—Grotii Hist. Gotthorum, &c., proleg. p. 30. Amst. 1655. Schmidt ascribes it to Ulphilas, who received this doctrine at Constantinople.—Hist. des Allemands, tome i. p. 220.

[53] Giannone, lib. iii. cap. 2. sez. 6.

[54] Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 12.

France, where it will be shown to have been instrumental in giving occasion to the connexion, formed between the government of that country and the see of Rome, which was the original combination of the system of Europe.

The formation of the republic of Venice should be reckoned among the consequences of the Lombard kingdom of Italy, for[55] chiefly to the invasion of the Lombards should be ascribed that resort of fugitives, which filled with inhabitants the numerous little islands at the mouth of the Po, and thus gave being to the important instrument of the earlier commerce of modern Europe. The commencement of the state of Venice has been indeed traced back to the invasion of Attila in the year 452, when many of the inhabitants of the continent were forced to seek refuge in these retreats: but[56] about seventy years afterwards, they were described by Cassiodorius, the minister of Theodoric, as living in extreme poverty, their subsistence being derived from fishing, and the manufacture of the salt, which they extracted from the sea. These obscure islanders appear to have submitted to the government of the Goths, which embraced the whole peninsula, and[57] was supported by a naval armament adequate to the protection of the coasts. The Lombards, however, who did not possess the whole of Italy, and confined their efforts to the land, were[58] forced to abandon them to the nominal protection of the Greek emperor, and the real independence of their very peculiar situation.

The fall of the kingdom of the Lombards was the work of that papal power, which the limitation of its dominion had suffered to become considerable, as the embryo bursts the integument, within which it had been formed. That power had indeed, even in the time of the dominion of the Goths, acquired so much consistency and firmness, that[59], in the beginning of the reign of Theodoric, the Roman pontiff maintained the superior dignity of the spiritual, compared with the temporal power, to justify the omission of sending a letter to the emperor with the embassy of the

---

[55] Abrégé Chron. tom. i. p. 160. [56] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iii. pp. 421, 422. [57] Abrégé Chron. tom. i. p. 46. [58] Ibid. p. 222—287. [59] Hist. des Papes, tom. i. p. 261. Haye, 1732.

Gothic prince; and[60] another pontiff, in the same reign, held a council at Rome, in which the control, claimed by the civil power over the elections of the Roman bishops, was declared to be unfounded. The period of the Lombard kingdom was, however, that in which the papacy began to act with vigour in asserting its independence.

In a period so important to its subsequent fortune, it was powerfully aided by the influence of individual character in the person of Gregory I., whose pontificate began twenty-one years after the commencement of the Lombard kingdom. Dragged[61] from the cloister by the unanimous wish of the clergy, the senate, and the people, this pontiff displayed, with unwearied assiduity, on the papal throne, that mixture of real piety and superstition, of genius and rudeness, of pride and humility, which was fitted to seize every avenue of the human heart. The liturgy of the Romish church was by him[62] corrected and improved; the attraction of a more perfect psalmody[63] was added, to excite the feelings through the most spiritual of the senses; and a multitude of rites and ceremonies was introduced, to compose that system of[64] picturesque devotion, which is so delightful to the unreflecting. Nor was he less attentive to the exterior relations of his church, being[65] indefatigable in establishing the authority of the papacy and the general profession of orthodoxy, and in extending the knowledge of Christianity. The last of the Roman pontiffs, who have been canonised as saints, he has been admitted by every writer to have merited his other appellation of *the great*. He was indeed averse from the study of the classic writings of antiquity, and has been even accused of having caused several of them, particularly the history of Livy, to be destroyed, as if he felt that classic literature could not consist with the intellectual empire, which he was labouring to form. He has, however, established for himself a literary claim to the attention of posterity, for we have more of his writings, than of any other pontiff.

---

[60] This proceeding, which occurred in the year 502, has been noticed by Saint-Marc, as probably the first enterprise of the spiritual against the temporal authority.—Abrégé Chron. tom. i. p. 36.

[61] Hist. des Papes, tom. i. p. 350, &c.

[62] A large portion of the collects of our own liturgy has been taken from the Sacramentary of Gregory, of which he himself says, 'Græcorum consuetudinem secuti sumus, qui aut veteres nostras reparavimus aut novas et utiles constituimus.' — Shepherd's Elucidation of the Morning and Evening Prayer, p. 271, &c. Lond. 1798. Many of these occur in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, patriarch of Rome, A.D. 494, and some may be traced to the Leonian Sacramentary used in the Roman church, about A.D. 483.—Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, vol. i. p. 313. Oxf. 1832.

[63] 'I learn,' says Gibbon, from the Abbé Dubos (Réflexions sur la Poésie et la Peinture, tom. iii. pp. 174, 175,) that the simplicity of the Ambrosian chant was confined to four *modes*, while the more perfect harmony of the Gregorian comprised the eight modes, or fifteen chords, of the ancient music. He observes that the connoisseurs admire the preface and many passages of the Gregorian office.'—Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iv., p. 459, *note* 70.

[64] 'Theirs (the public worship of the Protestants) consists in a manner, wholly in words, ours chiefly in action.'—Milner's Letters on Ireland, p. 262. Lond. 1808.

But this able prelate, though he thus laid the foundation of the papal dominion, was far from anticipating the grandeur of the superstructure. The patriarch of Constantinople having in his time aspired to the ecclesiastical monarchy, and arrogated the title of universal bishop[66], Gregory then struggling for independence, indiscreetly published his condemnation of such a pretension, which, however, the next pope[67], except one, solicited, and obtained, of the emperor. For his own see, he, notwithstanding claimed a right of jurisdiction[68], to which every bishop became subject, as soon as he committed any fault.

---

[65] Gregory, having been a monk before he became pontiff, was naturally led to the measure, which more particularly rendered him the founder of the papal monarchy, that of exempting the monastic bodies from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and subjecting them immediately to the see of Rome.—Hist. des Papes, tom. i. p. 383. With a similar tendency he laboured to establish in its rigour the celibacy of the clergy (ibid. p. 379); but the accomplishment of this measure was reserved for another Gregory, and a later age. He despatched the monk Augustine to England, professedly for the purpose of converting the inhabitants to Christianity, but chiefly that they might be induced to connect themselves with the church and see of Rome. [66] This title was claimed by John *the Faster*, who like Gregory, had reluctantly submitted to the general wish in accepting his exaltation.—Bayle's Dict., art. *Gregory I.* In opposition to it Gregory assumed the denomination of *the servant of the servants of God.*—Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, p. 24. Francofurti, 1591.

[67] Boniface III. solicited and obtained this very title from the emperor Phocas, who was then irritated against the Greek patriarch, because he had condemned the design of putting to death the widow (and daughters) of the preceding emperor.—Hist. des Papes, tom. i. p. 409.

A second Gregory, who was advanced to the papacy in the year 715, actually asserted that independence, for which preparation had been so well made by the first about a century before. The cause of superstition afforded an opportunity, at once suited to the nature of the pretension, and fitted to procure it popularity. The worship of images, or rather of pictures[69], had been introduced into the church in the fourth century, and in the fifth had been embraced in several places, though not sanctioned by authority. The new superstition was restrained for a time by the clamours of the Mohammedans, then pressing upon the eastern empire; and the emperor Leo the Isaurian, who brought with him to the throne the simplicity of the remote district, in which he had passed his earlier years, published, in the year 726, an edict prohibiting the practice. In the following year the pontiff addressed a remonstrance to the emperor. Whether he, or his successor, Gregory III., did formerly excommunicate and depose his sovereign, has been a subject of controversy: but no doubt can be entertained, that both encouraged the open and violent resistance of the Italians; and, when the king of the Lombards availed himself of the opportunity for attacking the imperial dependencies in Italy, Gregory II.[70] was contented to accept as a donation the spoils of his master.

Though by this revolt the connexion of the papacy and the Greek empire was weakened, it was not destroyed. The Lombards were, by their position, the natural enemies of the papal government, which therefore continued to cling to the empire, until it had found in France a more distant, and therefore a safer, protection. With this view, in the year 741, a negotiation[71] was begun with the French, offering, though in vain, to Charles Martel, who in effect governed that nation, the sovereignty of Rome. Twelve[72] years afterwards the emperor himself directed the pope to seek in France that assistance which he was unable to afford; and a treaty was accordingly concluded with king Pepin, by which that prince and his sons were declared sovereigns of Rome and its duchy, under the title of patricians[73], and the donation of the exarchate of Ravenna, and the pentapolis, was stipulated for the see of Rome[74]. Pepin, accordingly, invaded Italy, and soon compelled the Lombard prince to surrender the exarchate and other districts, which he had taken from the empire. Emboldened[75] by the powerful protection which they had thus secured, the pontiffs extended their views to the recovery of various properties, which had been long possessed by the Lombards. The demand was resisted by their princes, who were perhaps unable to effect the restitution; and in the year 774 the contest was terminated by the invasion of Charlemagne, and the consequent suppression of the Lombard kingdom. That monarch indeed took care to establish his own sovereignty over Rome, and to retain the pope in the situation of a subject; but though the papacy did not yet become an independent principality, the reduction of the Lombards contributed much to its aggrandisement, by suppressing a neighbouring and powerful government.

---

[68] Du Pin's Eccles. Writers, vol. i. p. 568. Dublin, 1723.

[69] Mosheim, cent. 4, part ii. ch. 3. sect 2; cent. 5, part ii. ch. 3. sect. 2.

[70] Abrégé Chron., tom. i. p. 326. Decline and Fall, &c., vol. v. p. 108. The Liber Pontificalis informs us of the names of the places so ceded, namely, Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Jesi, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Castel Sussubio, Montefeltro, Acerragio, Monte di Lucaro, Cerra, Castel San Mariano, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luceolo, Gubbio, et Comacchio.—Anast. Biblioth., p. 171. This donation appears not to have been executed.—Hist. des Républiques Italiennes du Moyen Age, par Sismondi, tom. i. p. 134, 135. Possession of certain lands was, however, given, though without the right of sovereignty.

---

[71] Abrégé Chron., tom. i. p. 342—344. [72] Ibid., p. 349, &c.

[73] The power, which the French princes acquired with this title, was still nominally subordinate to the Greek empire; and the Romans accordingly continued to date their public acts by the years of the reign of the Greek emperor, until Charlemagne had established a new empire in the west. Ibid. p. 382. [74] This donation, which was made in the year 755, was probably founded on that promised by the king of the Lombards, which does not appear to have been executed. The donation of Pepin comprehended the following places:—Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Jesi, Forlimpopoli, Forli with the castle of Sussubio, Montefeltro, Acerragio, Monte di Lucaro, Cerra, the castle of Saint Mariano or Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luceolo, Gubbio, Comacchio, Narni. Anastasius, the librarian, from whom this enumeration has been quoted, reports other anterior donations of territories besides the city and duchy of Rome, so that the donation of Pepin was not the beginning of the secular power of the papacy, though a considerable augmentation of it.—Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, tom. i. pp. 46, 47.

[75] Abrégé Chron., tom. i. p. 362. It may gratify curiosity to give here some account of the triple crown of the popes, and of the iron crown of the Lombards, so often mentioned in history. The emperor Anastasius, having invested Clovis of France with the dignities of patrician and consul, sent him a crown of gold. This he presented to pope Symmachus, and it was the first of those which composed the papal diadem; the second was added by pope Boniface VIII., and the third by pope John XXII.—Abrégé Chron. l'Hist. et du Droit Publ. d'l'Allemagne, par Pfeffel, tom. i. p. 11. Paris. 1776. M. de Sade has referred the third crown to pope Benedict XIII., the successor of John XXII.—Mém. pour la Vie de Pétraque, tom. i. p. 259. The iron crown of Lombardy is described by Saint Marc as a crown of gold, bordered below with a ring of iron. It was, with two

CHAPTER IV.

Of the history of France during the first dynasty, or from the first victory of Clovis, or Louis, in the year 486, *to the beginning of the reign of Pepin, in the year* 752.

First victory of Clovis, in the year 486—Thierry III., the first of *the sluggard kings*, king, 688—Pepin usurps the government, as mayor of the palace, 690—Charles Martel mayor of the palace, 719—begins the feudal system for France—defeats the Saracens, 732 and 737—Pepin king, 752.

The history of Italy having been traced to that time, when a connexion was completed between the ecclesiastical power formed in that country and the monarchy established in Gaul by the Franks, it becomes necessary to direct attention to this other power, the main and central government

others, presented to the church of Monza, when the first Lombard prince had abjured Arianism. But it is certain that the Lombard princes were never crowned.—Abrégé Chron., tom. i. pp. 178, 180—182. Æneas Sylvius says that the iron ring was inserted in reference to the prophecy of Daniel, who has represented the last of the four great monarchies as partly composed of iron.—Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites, par Lenfant, liv. xxiv. ch. 13. It is also said to have been made of the very nails, which had attached our Saviour to the cross, and are said to have been collected by Helena, the mother of Constantine. Griffin's remains, vol. ii. p. 123. New York, 1831.

of that system of nations, which it is proposed to analyse, as the connexion with the papacy was the primordial relation of policy, by which its complicated combinations were commenced.

The territory of this predominating government of modern Europe has been, in every particular, accommodated to its high destination. Extending[1], before the acquisitions of the recent revolution, about six hundred British miles from north to south, and about five hundred and sixty from west to east, it was amply sufficient for the necessary population, placed as it was in the happiest temperature of climate, and, especially in its middle region, distinguished by the fertility of its soil. It may, in general, be considered as one vast plain, the only mountains[2], and those of no great magnitude, being found in its southern region; and a wide continuity of surface has always been observed to be favourable to the formation of a powerful monarchy, such as could best maintain the station of a central and principal government. Communicating, on the one side, with the Mediterranean, and on the other with the ocean, while it was elsewhere bordered by the chief countries of the continent, it naturally became involved in all the various combinations of European policy, the want of a natural frontier, to separate it from Germany, imposing on its people the necessity of becoming a military nation. Lastly, it was geographically central in respect to those other countries, which afterwards constituted with it the system of Europe, being situated between the treasured refinement of Italy and the growing energies of Britain, between the complex feudality and sober industry of Germany, and the romantic chivalry and Arabian elegance of the Spanish peninsula. The local advantages of this country were, indeed, perceived four centuries before the commencement of the monarchy; for Agrippa[3], when he was dissuading his countrymen, the Jews, from encountering the Roman power, urged the example of the submission of the Gauls, alleging that these might more prudently than any other nation hazard the consequences of a revolt, being possessed of the most extraordinary advantages of nature.

---

[1] Pinkerton's Mod. Geography, vol. i. p. 247. Lond. 1802.

[2] The influence of this exception from the general conformation of the surface of the French territory was manifested in the wars of the Cevennes, in which these mountains sheltered the Protestants, and preserved them for the revolution.

[3] Josephi de Bello Judaico, lib. ii. cap. 16. sect. 14.

Into this country the refinement of the Greeks had been very early introduced, the Phoceans[4] having removed thither from Asia Minor at least five centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, or about the time of the establishment of the republican government of Rome. Having formed a settlement near the mouth of the Rhone, they built Marseilles, and from it diffused through the neighbouring country so much improvement, that, as an ancient historian[5] has, with some quaintness, remarked, Gaul seemed rather to have migrated into Greece, than Greece into Gaul; and Cicero[6] has expressed a doubt, whether he should not prefer the institutions of the Gauls to those of Greece itself. With Rome they appear to have cultivated a close and unalterable alliance; and the Grecian settlement was at length converted into the Roman province of Gaul, which became distinguished by its schools, its elegance, and its commerce.

The reduction of Gaul was completed by Julius Cæsar fifty-one years before the commencement of the Christian era. From this time it enjoyed almost uniform tranquillity during four centuries and a half; so that its inhabitants, by disuse of war, became wholly incapable[7] of resisting the pressure of the German nations, which were eager to establish themselves within the limits of the empire. The last day of the year 406[8] was the memorable epoch of the final irruptions of the Germans. On that day, either encouraged, or at least permitted, by the Roman general, they turned against Gaul the fury which had been directed against Italy, and never afterwards retreated from their conquests. This invasion was effected by a mixed multitude of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, of which all, except the last people, passed forward into Spain. In the year 412, the Visigoths were, in the like manner, induced to abandon Italy for Gaul, and established themselves in the southern provinces; and, in the following year, the main body of the Burgundians crossed the Rhine from their settlement near the Maine.

---

[4] Herodotus, Clio, cap. clxii. Agathias refers their expedition to the reign of Darius, the son of Hydaspes. Excerpta ex Agathiæ Hist. apud Hist. Gotthorum, &c. a Grotio.

[5] Justin, lib. xliii. cap. iv.

[6] Pro L. Flacco.

[7] Their inferiority had, however, been begun before the wars of Cæsar, for he has described them as having been formerly able to send colonies beyond the Rhine, but then not pretending to compare themselves with the Germans.—De Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. xxii. In the time of Agricola, they had already become examples of cowardice.—Vit. Agric. cap. xi. The first incursion of the northern tribes is referred to the year 260. Hist. des Français par Sismondi, tome i. Paris, 1821.

[8] Decline and Fall, &c. vol. iii. p. 168—170.

The Franks, from whom[9] the modern name of the country has been derived, began, in the year 486, those conquests, which gave being to its monarchy. Gaul[10] was at that time divided between five distinct sets of inhabitants. Of these, the Franks occupied some districts in the most northern provinces of modern France, besides some others in the territory since denominated the Austrian Netherlands; but they were broken into different parties, under independent leaders: the Visigoths possessed the southern provinces: the Burgundians the eastern: a confederacy, named the Armoricans, had assumed independence in the west, from Bayonne to the mouth of the Rhine: and the people of the remainder still affected to consider themselves as belonging to the empire. As the Roman portion, comprehending only the cities of Soissons and Troyes[11], was separated from all communication with Constantinople, the imperial government in Gaul acted almost as an independent sovereignty.

The Franks differed much in character from the Visigoths and Burgundians, the only other Germans which had remained in Gaul. These had been softened by a long-continued intercourse with the Romans. The Visigoths, it has been remarked, had been long established in a province of the empire; and the Burgundians, though not previously settled within its limits, had, however, enjoyed the advantage of being situated for a considerable time in the vicinity of its frontier, and were remarkable[12] for the attention which they gave to the mechanic arts. Such occupants were well fitted to preserve what was still valuable in the country, while they regenerated that which was corrupt; but for forming the new government, which was to maintain a station of much importance and difficulty, some more active energy appears to have been required, than had been furnished by the character of either of these nations. The Franks seem to have been well adapted to such a purpose. The Burgundians and Visigoths had blended themselves with the people, whom they had vanquished, and formed codes[13] of law on the principles, which they found established among them; but the Franks, ignorant and regardless of the Roman jurisprudence, framed on Germanic principles their Salic[14] and Ripuarian codes, and cherished the original usages of their nation. Like the Lombards of Italy[15], they appear to have been comparatively few, and to have compensated their deficiency of number by superior valour and activity. By Agathias[16] they have been commended for their moderation and humanity; other historians are, however, less favourable to their moral character, and their orthodoxy may have had some influence in procuring his testimonial. Vopiscus, who wrote early in the fourth century, says[17] that it was familiar to them to violate their faith with a smile; Salvian, in the fifth century, alleged[18] that they regarded perjury as a mode of speech, not as a crime; and Procopius, about the middle of the sixth, charged[19] them with being, beyond other nations, faithless to their engagements. The levity of disposition, in which this disregard of fidelity originated, took afterwards a more honourable and useful direction. In the time of Malmesbury, or the twelfth century, the French[20] had become distinguished, above the other nations of the west, by the active exercise of their powers, and by the courtesy of their manners; and this writer has described Egbert, who lived in the ninth century, as having, by an intercourse with them, not only acquired a knowledge of the art of government, but also sharpened his mind, and reformed the barbarism of his habits. It is curious to observe how the vanity, for which the modern French have been so remarkable, distinguished them in the very beginning of their nation, the preface of their Salic code[21] being an elaborate eulogy on the people, by which it was formed.

---

[9] The name *Francia* appears to have been introduced in the time of the sons of Clovis.—Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, par Daniel, i. p. 46. Paris, 1751.

[10] Hist. Critique de l'Etablissement des Français dans les Gaules, par Henault, tome i. pp. 79, 80. Paris, 1801.

[11] Ibid. tome i. p. 257.

---

[12] Socrates Eccles. Hist. lib. vii. c. 30.

[13] The Roman laws adopted by these nations were not taken from the code of Justinian, but chiefly from the earlier one of Theodosius, with which, however, were combined several other collections. From these and the laws of his own nation, Alaric II., king of the Visigoths, caused a code to be compiled, about the year 506. From Anianus, his referendary or chancellor, by whom it was either compiled or published, it was named the Breviarium Aniani.—Butler's Horæ Juridicæ Subsecivæ, pp. 80, 81. Lond. 1807. The Burgundians, had formed a similar combination of the Roman with their own national law so nearly as in the year 500. From their king Gondebaud, it was named la Loi Gombette. It maintained its authority until it was abrogated by Louis, the son of Charlemagne.—Hist. Critique de Etablissem. des Français, &c. tome i. pp. 259, 295.

[14] The subjects of Clovis were distinguished into Salians and Ripuarians, who had their respective codes. The Salians, anciently the Sicambri, were properly a principal tribe, with which several others were incorporated by Clovis. For these an improved compilation of their ancient usages was composed by Clovis and two of his sons, the original of which had been framed by four persons, elected for that purpose, before the conversion of that prince. The Ripuarians, who were settled between the lower Rhine and the lower Meuse, having Cologne for their capital, came afterwards under the dominion of Clovis, and continued long to be regarded as a distinct tribe. A compilation of their usages was made by another son of Clovis, in whose district they were included.—Pouvoir Législatif sous Charlemagne, par M. Bonnaire de Pronville, tome i. pp. 12, 28. Brunswick, 1800.

[15] Laus Francorum, ex antiquo codice MS. Biblioth. Thuanæ, apud du Chesne, tome i. p. 250. Lut. Paris, 1636.

It is a very curious fact, that a doctrinal controversy, originating in the speculations of the Alexandrian school, should have essentially influenced the formation of the political system of the western Europeans. In the progress of that philosophical discussion, which had been[22] there introduced into Christianity, it was maintained by Arius, that Jesus Christ, though of a nature highly exalted, was yet but a created being, essentially distinguished from the Deity. While they, who considered the nature of the Divinity as far transcending the very limited powers of the human mind, were desirous of submitting themselves implicitly to those declarations of the sacred scriptures, which ascribe to Jesus Christ the attributes of the godhead, they, who had more confidence in their powers of reasoning, found in the opinion of Arius a more acceptable, because a more distinctly intelligible doctrine. In this division of religious sentiment, the Franks became the associates, the other barbarians the adversaries of Rome. It was not, indeed, by any disposition to abstract reasoning, that the latter were induced to adopt the opinion of Arius, nor had an extraordinary piety any concern with the orthodox determination of the founders of the French monarchy, each nation of barbarians embracing that profession of Christianity, which happened to be first offered to its acceptance. The Franks, in their remote situation, had remained ignorant alike of every form of the religion of Christ; and, as the first enterprise of Clovis or Louis was directed against the Roman district of Gaul, they first became acquainted with it among those who were in communion with Rome, and consequently adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Their prince, too, must naturally have felt a wish to conciliate the attachment of his new subjects; this disposition must have been strengthened by the influence of his queen, who, though a Burgundian, had embraced the faith of Rome[23]; and it could not escape his consideration that, in the provinces subject to the Visigoths and Burgundians, there were great numbers, who would be eager to assist an orthodox invader against their heretical masters. Clovis accordingly declared himself a Christian of the Roman communion, and thus established a claim to be regarded by the Roman see as the eldest son of the church[24].

---

[16] Excerpta ex Agathiæ Hist. apud Hist. Gotthorum, &c. a Grotio, p. 530. [17] Vopiscus Proc. c. xiii. p. 237. Ed. Bip. quoted in Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 56. Lond. 1799—1805. [18] De Gubern. Dei, lib. iv. [19] Hist. Gotthorum, &c. p. 286.

[20] Malmesburiensis, lib. iv. cap. i. [21] Pouvoir Législatif sous Charlemag. tome i. p. 17. [22] By Origen, who had attached himself to the philosophy of Plato.—Mosheim de Rebus Christ. ante Constantinum, p. 604, &c. Helmstatii.

The first result of the connexion thus formed with the see of Rome, was the assistance which it afforded in the establishment of the new monarchy. The marriage of Clovis[25] had, in a very considerable degree, conciliated to him the affections of his Gallic subjects, who, like his queen, were in communion with the church of Rome; and when this prince[26], in the crisis of a battle fought with the Germans, who had invaded his new territory, vowed that, if victorious, he would become a Christian, and was accordingly baptized, his dominion received such augmentation, by the submission of various districts, that it was extended over the whole country included between the Rhine, the ocean, the Loire, and the kingdom of Burgundy. The substantial foundation of his monarchy was then laid. It was brought nearly to its entire dimension by the reduction of the Visigoths[27] of the southern provinces, and by the ascendency which he acquired over the Burgundians of those of the east[28], in both which enterprises he was assisted by his religious profession. A general desire of submitting to the Franks[29] prevailed among the subjects of these nations, and Clovis[30], when he encouraged his own people to attack the Visigoths, proclaimed a war against them as Arians.

---

[23] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, par Daniel, tome i. p. 13.

[24] The title of Most Christian King was first bestowed upon Louis XI., in the year 1469.—Henault's Chron. Abridgment.

---

[25] Abrégé de l'Hist. par Daniel, i. p. 13. [26] Ibid. p. 15, &c.

[27] The Visigoths having established themselves in Aquitaine, in the year 412, founded, with the consent of the emperor Honorius, the first independent sovereignty within the empire. In the year 415, Ataulphes, or Adolphus, their king, having married the sister of Honorius, led his people into Spain, to recover that country from the Vandals for the empire. They returned in the year 419, and, resigning their Spanish conquests, resumed possession of that part of Gaul which extended from Toulouse to the ocean, having probably been recalled by Honorius to oppose the Armoricans. On their re-establishment in Gaul they were not independent of the empire, as they had been at the first settlement; but the distractions, and, at length, the ruin of the western empire, afforded them a favourable opportunity for extending at once their possessions and their power. Enric, in the year 475, obtained from the emperor Nepos a cession of all the country on the southern side of the Loire. On the east he had pushed his conquests to the Rhone, and had even passed that river towards its mouth, occupying the country between the Durance and the Mediterranean.—Hist. Critique de l'Etablissem. &c., tome i. pp. 64-66, 116-123. Clovis reduced them in the year 507. [28] The Burgundians, who had passed the Rhine in the year 413, established themselves in Alsace and Franche-Comte.—Hist. Critique de l'Etablissem, &c. tome i. p. 64. They were finally reduced by the sons of Clovis, in the year 534. [29] Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. xxxvi. [30] Ibid. cap. xxxvii.

The second result was the support which it eventually provided for the papacy. The connexion, begun by the religious profession of Clovis, was afterwards strengthened by the prudence of Pepin and of Charlemagne, so that it thenceforward became a fixed and settled principle of the mutual policy of the two governments. Its influence is discoverable in the struggles of the papacy and the German empire, in which the see of Rome received its chief temporal support from the connexion thus formed with the monarchy of France.

The Arian tenets of the Visigoths and Burgundians appear, on the other hand, to have produced two important results. While they disposed the Gallic subjects of these nations to favour the ambition of Clovis, they seem also, by opposing the doctrine of the see of Rome, to have provided a principle of religious dissent, which maintained a resistance to the usurpations of the papacy. The formation of the system of Europe appears to have required, that a French monarchy should be established in connexion with the see of Rome, and also that the aggrandisement of the papacy should be moderated by some contrary principle, which should dispose men to support the cause of religious liberty.

Such was the respect commanded even by the wreck of the ruined empire, that its dignities were coveted by the barbarian leaders, who were struggling to gain possession of the dependent provinces. Clovis accordingly, who, like his father and grandfather[31] had been at his accession invested with the rank of master of the soldiery, was gratified, after a series of successes, by receiving from the emperor the higher dignity of consul[32]; nor was the French monarchy formally independent of the empire before the year 540, when Justinian[33], to secure the attachment of the Franks, made to the sons of Clovis a cession of his nominal superiority.

These particulars furnish a sufficient proof, that the acquisitions of the Franks were effected by policy equally as by arms, and that an erroneous idea of the monarchy is conceived by those, who regard it as the work of merely barbarous violence. While the sword was vigorously employed, the political habits of the people of Gaul were carefully respected, as their religious zeal was also enlisted on the side of Clovis, first by his marriage, and then more effectually by his conversion, which was accompanied by that of his original subjects. The Franks[34] were indeed too few, to occupy any considerable portion of the territory which they acquired; some districts[35] also submitted to their government by stipulations, which precluded a general seizure of the land; and the Salic law[36], which specifies the distinctions of condition among the conquered Romans or Gauls, is an irrefragable evidence that the government of Clovis was, as much as possible, erected on foundations already existing in the country. They appear moreover to have established themselves only in the territory acquired by their earlier successes[37], on the northern side of the Loire, which, so late as under the kings of the second race[38], was exclusively named Francia, while the country on the southern side of that river bore the appellation of the country of the Romans.

---

[31] Hist. Crit. de l'Etablissem. &c., tome i. p. 239. [32] Probably to raise up a rival to Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy.—Ibid. p. 310. [33] Ibid. tome ii. p. 19—23.

The whole series of French sovereigns prior to the revolution has been distinguished into three races. Of these the first began with Clovis in the year 486, and ended in the year 752, having subsisted during two hundred and sixty-six years; the second began with Pepin, in the year 752, and ended in the year 987, having continued two hundred and thirty-five years; and the third began with Hugh Capet, in the year 987, and reached to the revolution, having possessed the government eight hundred and five years. The third race accordingly occupied nearly two-thirds of the thirteen centuries, which have constituted the duration of the monarchy prior to the revolution, the other portion having been almost equally divided between the first and the second. The shorter duration of these corresponds to the relation, which preparatory periods might be expected to bear to that, to which they were subordinate and introductory.

---

[34] Clovis, before his baptism, consulted his people concerning the change of the national religion, and the proposal was received with a general acclamation; yet the number of his followers then baptized is only described as exceeding three thousand.—Greg. Turon. lib. ii. cap. xxxi.

[35] The Armoricans stipulated, that the part already conquered should belong to the Franks, the remainder being reserved. —Hist. Crit. de 'lEtablissem. tome ii, pp. 208, 209.

[36] Ibid. p. 53. The Salic law even condemned to greater fine him who should have killed a noble Roman, than him who should have killed a Frank of an ordinary condition, though but the half of the fine imposed upon him who should have killed a Frank of the same order.—Esprit des Lois, liv. xxviii. ch. iii.

[37] Hist. Crit. de l'Etablissem. tome ii. pp. 59, 60.

[38] Ibid.

The first race may easily be conceived to have had for a sufficient object, the reduction of the Gallic territory into the form of one military monarchy. In the imperfection of the policy of the barbarous nations this was an enterprise, which required much address and fortitude, and was practicable only in very favourable circumstances. Though Clovis appears to have possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualities necessary for his station, alternately exerting the most determined courage, and practising the most artful management, and, in a reign of twenty-five years from the commencement of his successes, enjoyed an ample opportunity for laying the foundation of the future structure, yet so little were the habits of his people adapted to the magnitude of such a government, that it was successively divided and consolidated through four alternations[39] nor did these cease, until that series of sovereigns named *the sluggard kings* began, under which the first race gradually lost their power, and made room for the elevation of the second.

The imperfection of the government in the first period consisted chiefly in this, that, though the government was one, the people was heterogeneous, and disunited in the most important of all respects, that of laws. Among the subjects of Clovis and his successors we find four distinct codes of law, separating them into four distinct nations in all the interests directly affecting individuals; the Theodosian code, by which the Roman subjects were regulated, the law of the Visigoths, observed in the southern provinces, the law of the Burgundians, prevailing in the eastern, and the Salic and Ripuarian laws of the

---

[39] Even, however, when it was thus divided, the parts were still considered as having some connexion; and in the second division, when he who had reigned at Paris died, the three surviving brothers agreed to hold that city in common.

Franks themselves. The process, by which this diversity was removed, was the establishment of the law of feuds[40]. To the introduction and establishment of the new code the two changes of the French kings were successively instrumental, the decay of the first race giving occasion to the former, and that of the second affording to the nobles an opportunity of assuming the character of a feudal aristocracy, the introduction of the third restoring to the crown the necessary ascendency.

The partitions of the government naturally tended to increase the weakness, from which they arose, as they furnished new occasions of rivalry and dissension. To such a degree did the public disorder prevail at the end of seventy-six years from the first enterprise of Clovis, that during the thirty-five following years the history of France is little more than the record of the contentions of two able, but unprincipled princesses, Fredegonde and Brunehault. The struggle of these two females was terminated in the year 597, by the death of the former; the latter maintained her authority until the year 613, when she was taken by her enemies, and perished by a cruel execution.

Amidst all this weakness and disorder, preparation was gradually made for bringing forward a new and more vigorous dynasty, in the continually increasing aggrandisement of an officer, named the mayor of the palace. This officer, who, originally a superintendent of the royal household, seems to have acquired his ministerial character by his utility[41] in managing an insubordinate nobility, was at first appointed by the king[42], but in the decay of the royal authority the nomination passed to the nobles[43], who left to the crown only the form of confirmation. A favourable opportunity soon occurred for extending the encroachment. In the year 644, when the kingdom was divided for the last time, the two reigning princes being minors, their ministers began to possess themselves of the whole power of their respective governments[44], and the result was, that Austrasia[45], or the district adjacent to the Rhine, became a principality under Pepin, who was really independent, though he affected to acknowledge the authority of the sovereign.

---

[40] Hist. Crit. de l'Etablissem. &c. tome ii. pp. 54, 130. 131.

[41] When Clothaire II. demanded of the Burgundians, whether they wished to elect a new mayor, in the room of one lately deceased, they unanimously declined to make the appointment—regis gratiam obnixe petentes cum rege transagere.—Fredeg. Chron. cap. liv. Sismondi has derived the title of this officer from the German *morddom*, signifying *judge of murder*. Hist. des Français, tome i. p. 340. The Latin derivation seems more probable. [42] When the mayor mentioned in the preceding note was appointed, he received from Clothaire an oath, that he should never be deprived of the office. —Ibid. cap. xlii. The king must therefore at that time have had the right of nomination. [43] In the fourth year of Clovis II. king of Burgundy, a mayor was thus chosen.—Ibid. cap. lxxxix.

The necessity of repelling the dangerous incursions of the Germans, seems to have pointed out the expediency of forming into a distinct province, named Austrasia, or Eastern France, the territory exposed to these invasions. That which extended from Austrasia to the Loire, was denominated Neustria, or New France, as having been more recently acquired. When the whole country, Burgundy[46] being included, was, after the fourth and last partition, again united under a single sovereign, he naturally fixed his residence in Neustria, which was more considerable and more central, and comprehended the city of Paris, regarded as the metropolis from the time of Clovis. Austrasia was, accordingly, left as a viceroyalty, in which, freed[47] from the presence and control of his sovereign, the governor, was able to establish himself, as in an independent principality.

Martin, the cousin-german of another Pepin, who was grandson of the former, had been associated with him in the government of Austrasia; this colleague, however, was soon removed, being treacherously slain by the mayor of the other portion of the kingdom, and Pepin was left in the sole possession of the government. His advancement from this station to the government of the whole kingdom was easy and rapid. All who were dissatisfied with the conduct of the king, removed to Austrasia, where Pepin took them under his protection: this conduct naturally excited the jealousy of that prince, who fought a battle, and was defeated; and Pepin, in consequence of his victory, usurped the whole authority, under the title of mayor of the palace.

---

[44] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome i. p. 186. [45] Austrasia was bounded by the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and the Vosge, and, in the interval between the Meuse and the Scheldt, by the frontier of Hainault, on the side next to Champagne.—Etats formés en Europe, par D'Anville, p. 64. [46] Burgundy comprehended the two provinces of the same name, almost the whole of Switzerland, Dauphiny, with a part of Provence, and Savoy.—Ibid. 93.

[47] During indeed the last six years of this reign, Dagobert, son of Clothaire II., was king of Austrasia, but in subordination to his father, who had governed alone during nineteen years.—Sismondi, tom. ii. pp. 1—19.

The gradual aggrandisement of the second race of French sovereigns, in this preparatory situation of mayor of the palace[48], corresponds very closely to the assistance which Clovis himself had derived, in the establishment of his power, from the dignities which he held under the imperial authority. As the power of the first French sovereign had been matured under the protection of imperial offices, so did that of the second race acquire the vigour necessary for their exaltation, in the situation of the ministers of their predecessors.

The prince, in whose reign the advancement of Pepin to the general management of the government was effected, is distinguished in the history of France as the first of that series of *sluggard kings,* who, with the exception of five or six years, the reign of one prince of some activity[49], and of an interregnum of five years more, occupied the throne during sixty-two years, if it could indeed be said to be occupied, when nothing was known of the sovereign except the name. The situation of these royal pageants has been curiously described by Eginhard, the friend and minister of Charlemagne. Nothing, says[50] he, was left to the king, except that, content with the royal title, he should, with long hair and beard,[51] sit on a throne, receive ambassadors, and repeat to them the answers which he had been instructed, or perhaps commanded, to deliver: his subsistence was furnished to him at the discretion of the prefect of the palace, nor had he any possession except one villa of very small value; and in his progress to the palace and to the annual assembly, he was drawn by oxen, driven by a herdsman. Mezeray[52] has accordingly remarked, that some do, not without reason, consider the first race of kings as terminated at the commencement of this series of imbecility, the whole kingdom, and even the person of the sovereign, being thenceforward in the management of Pepin and his family.

---

[48] Hist. Crit. de l'Etablissement, &c., tome i. pp. 142, 143.

[49] The reign of Chilperic II. The interruption of the series of indolent and incapable sovereigns seems to have furnished the resistance, by which Charles Martel was disciplined to exertion.

[50] Vita Caroli Magni, sub init.

[51] These kings have, accordingly, been sometimes distinguished as the *long-haired kings.* This natural ornament was not permitted to their subjects.—Excerpta ex Agathiæ Hist. apud Grotium, p. 532. Hence to shave them was equivalent to deposition.—Henault's Chron. Aridgm. vol. i. p. 39. Lond. 1762.

Pepin conducted the government with the wisdom and vigour belonging to a rising dynasty. While he re-established the internal order and tranquillity of the country, he chastised by repeated expeditions the turbulence of its northern enemies, and so frequent were they[53], that one year, in which none had occurred, was distinguished by that circumstance. In this manner he exercised the sovereign power during twenty-four years. Having been, by the death of his two sons, disappointed in the project of transmitting his authority to one of his children, he was tempted to venture upon the extraordinary expedient of advancing to the mayoralty a grandson, who was then an infant. Such was the respect[54] entertained for the memory of Pepin, that the French, for a short time after his death, preserved to the grandchild the dignity, with which he had been invested, and the king, retired in a pleasure-house, continued under the direction of a child and his grandmother. This was, however, too unnatural to be of long duration. The infant-mayor was set aside[55], and another appointed in his room; but Charles, an illegitimate son[56] of Pepin, having escaped from a prison, established himself, after a vigorous struggle, in the dignities which had been held by his father.

The advancement of such a leader was critically accommodated to the exigency of the state. During the earlier years of his exaltation, he employed himself, like his father, in reducing those northern barbarians[57] who pressed upon the kingdom, and he protected the efforts made by missionaries to convert them to a religion, which would mitigate their ferocity. There appeared, on the contrary side, a far more formidable enemy, animated by fanaticism, and inflamed by success. The Saracens had already possessed themselves of the Spanish peninsula, except that mountainous district, in which was sheltered the remnant of the Gothic monarchy. In the career of their conquests they invaded France. There, however, they were withstood by Charles, surnamed Martel, or *the hammer*, from the irresistible energy of his military enterprises, and were by him defeated in two bloody engagements, fought at Poitiers and Narbonne in the years 732 and 737. These great victories rescued from destruction[58] the young monarchy of France, and protected, for a distant period, the feeble germ of the future monarchy of Spain.

---

[52] Abrégé Chron., tome i. p. 347. Paris, 1676.

[53] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome i. pp. 213, 214

[54] Ibid. p. 217. Sismondi says twenty-seven years and a half.—Hist. des Français, ii. p. 107.

[55] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome i. p. 217.

[56] He is so described by Henault. Mably represents him as the son of a former wife, set aside in favour of the family of a second.

At this time, the main government of the incipient system of Europe had been reduced within very narrow limits, by the operation of that external compression, which seems to be necessary to the due formation of political society, the Saracens having advanced to the Loire, so that it was comprehended between that river and the Rhine. The Lombards, who constituted its only other continental member, were at the same time limited to a partial possession of Italy; and in England the Saxons were struggling with the disorders of their numerous little kingdoms, and continued almost a century unable to unite them into a single monarchy. So inconsiderable were the beginnings of that great order of policy, which afterwards comprehended all the countries of Europe, and extended its influence to every region of the earth.

The operation of this compression on the formation of the French monarchy appears to have consisted, at least partly, in completing the incorporation of the southern provinces. Though these had been reduced by Clovis, and continued to belong to the kingdom, so little were they regarded as constituting a part of France, that in only one of the divisions of the government do we find mention of any territory situated on the southern side of the Loire. The appointment, then made, of a king of Toulouse, was annulled within three years; but a duchy of Aquitaine sprang from it, which became independent, and usurped the dominion of almost all that country. This duchy being overpowered by the Saracens, the duke was forced to seek protection from Charles Martel; and upon his death, which occurred soon afterwards, this conqueror asserted his authority over the territory, which he had recovered.

---

[57] His German expeditions he extended to the Weser and the Danube; and he protected the missions of Boniface and Willebrod while he abolished the remaining paganism of France.—Abrégé de l'Histoire de France, tome i. pp. 227, 228.

[58] The Saracens were then confined to Languedoc.—Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, tome i. p. 50.

Its operation consisted, perhaps, also in the opportunity which it afforded to Charles Martel, of extending that system of feudal polity, of which, in France, he appears to have been the author[59]. The kings had endeavoured to secure the attachment of the nobles by distributing among them the demesnes of the crown; but they had not discovered the expedient of connecting with their grants the specific services, which constituted a feudal tenure, and, when the source of their munificence was exhausted, their influence was at an end. The peculiar circumstances, however, of this leader, suggested to him a system of feudal vassalage. Imprisoned by the grandmother of the infant mayor, and driven by her violence into the situation of a military usurper, he was compelled to seek support in the personal attachment of his followers. His grants[60], therefore, were not, like those of the kings, unaccompanied by specific obligations. Those who received them were, on the contrary, bound, not merely to military services, but also to a domestic attendance on his person, and were accordingly denominated vassals, an appellation until that time given only to domestics.

A considerable part of the means, by which Charles secured the attachment of his vassals, was furnished by the spoils of the clergy, who had been enriched by the excessive liberality of their sovereigns. Anxious to conciliate the affections of this body, Clovis had been profuse in his grants; and his example was so zealously imitated by his successors, that Chilperic[61], who reigned fifty years after him, lamented that the riches of the kingdom had been transferred to the clergy, who had thus become the masters of the state. The clergy, at the same time, had been corrupted by their opulence, and were thus deprived of their only protection, the veneration of the people. The opportunity having been eagerly seized by Charles to serve the purposes of his ambition, the clergy sought their revenge[62] in a pretended revelation, which announced his everlasting perdition.

---

[59] Observations sur l'Hist. de France, par l'Abbé de Mably, liv. i. ch. vi. note 3.

[60] Ibid.

The system of vassalage, begun by plundering the clergy, was probably extended by the military successes of Charles in the southern provinces. Wherever his victories extended, he naturally intrusted his acquisitions to persons bound to him by obligations similar to those, which attached to him the service of his earlier followers; and it is certain[63] that the young duke of Aquitaine was forced to take upon him the duties of homage to Charles and his children, without any mention of a sovereign. Still, however, the system was extremely irregular. It had been but commenced in the peculiar circumstances of an enterprising individual, and required the aid of a second race of kings, to convert it into the organization of the constitution.

It is a curious particularity of the history of the French government, that the feudal polity, which had been in Lombardy the work of an independent aristocracy, dictating the conditions of its own submission to a sovereign, was in France the invention of an ambitious adventurer, desirous of securing followers who should be devoted to his will. It is, indeed, true, that, in the decline of the second race of kings, the aristocracy of France became as independent as that of Lombardy had been, and the maxims of the feudal polity of Lombardy became, in general, applicable to the French nobility; but the right of primogeniture[64], which was a part of the feudal polity of France, and had never been acknowledged in the Italian system, was probably derived from the preceding practice of the government. The distinction bore an important correspondence to the difference of the subsequent fortunes of the two countries. A monarchy required such a preference of the eldest son, whereas an equality of right tended naturally to such an equalization of property and rank, as was most favourable to the establishment of republican governments.

---

[61] Greg. Tur., lib. vi. cap. xlvi.
[62] Fragm. de Rebus Eudonis et Caroli Mart. apud Du Chesne, i. 792.
[63] Henault's Chron. Abridgm.
[64] Ibid. vol. i. p. 95.

Though the king of France had become a mere pageant under the direction of the mayor of the palace, and was at length so insignificant, that Charles had suffered the throne to be vacant during the last five years of his life, the time was not yet come for an open usurpation of the royal power. The prejudices of the French in favour of the claim of the royal family were yet too strong for such a measure; and two sons of Charles Martel, who had jointly succeeded to his authority, seem to have found it necessary to put an end to the interregnum, by placing another royal phantom on[65] the throne of Clovis. Nine years afterwards was completed the revolution, which had been begun, in the advancement of Pepin, fifty-two years before, so that the whole of this process occupied a space of sixty-one years. Of the two sons of Charles Martel, Carloman and Pepin, the elder having retired into a monastery after an active administration of five years, Pepin became, like his father and grandfather, the general governor of the kingdom. Possessing the whole power of the state, secure of the affections of the people, and restrained only by the presence of an incapable young man[66], almost the sole survivor of his race, he perceived that the little remaining difficulty might be surmounted by the assistance of the church. The approbation of the pope was obtained, and Pepin was absolved from the obligation of his oath of allegiance. It was the general policy of the Roman see to encourage applications which favoured its supremacy; it was also at this time the urgent interest of that see to procure from France a sup-

[65] According to Sismondi only for Neustria, the Austrasians being indifferent to the race of the Merovingians. Hist. de Français, tome ii. p. 153.

[66] The king, Childeric III., had a son named Thierry, who was sent to the monastery of Fontenelle in Normandy. The father died, four years after he had been deposed, in the abbey of Sithin, now Saint Bertin.—Henault's Chron. Abridgm.

port against the ambition of the Lombards; and it even might seem reasonable and necessary, in the critical circumstances of western Europe, that France should be governed by a real and effective sovereign, instead of the anomalous administration of mayors acting according to their own pleasure, under a mere shadow of the regal authority. Pepin was accordingly, in the year 752, proclaimed king of France, under the sanction of the see of Rome.

The historian of the Roman empire has remarked[67], that the reciprocal obligations of the popes and the new dynasty of France constitute the link of ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical history. It is important to the present purpose to remark also, that the connexion, thereby formed, claims to be regarded as the primary combination of the modern polity of Europe, inasmuch as it combined the interest of a see which, by its ecclesiastical influence, contributed so much, first to the coherence, and afterwards to the equilibrium, of the European system, with those of a government, which has been its principal member. The French monarchy, indeed, appears to have sought this connexion through a succession of ages, as in the material world various substances become united by what is termed in philosophy their elective affinity; it was begun in the orthodox conversion of Clovis, it was rendered closer by the advancement of Pepin to the throne, and became yet more intimate by the policy and the imperial dignity of Charlemagne.

CHAPTER V.

Of the history of France during the second dynasty, or from the beginning of the reign of Pepin, in the year 752, *to the beginning of that of Hugh Capet, in the year* 987.

Pepin king in the year 752—Charles, afterwards Charlemagne, sole king of France in 771—The imperial dignity restored in the advancement of Charlemagne, 800—The Normans begin their ravages, 842—Feudal polity of France improved by Charles *the*

---

[67] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. v. p. 118.

bald, 877—Germany and Italy finally separated from France, 888—Normans established in France, 912—An Italian emperor elected, 915.

The period of the history of France comprehended in this chapter, presents to us the interesting view of a new empire established in Europe by Charlemagne; of its subsequent distribution into separate governments; of the completion of the feudal polity of France; and of the decay and suppression of the reigning family, to make room for a new dynasty. This is a view rather of the beginning of the system of Europe, than of the separate government of France, which may more properly be considered as having commenced with the third race of its sovereigns. Some preparation, indeed, was previously made for the construction of this very important government. The foundation of a military constitution had been laid by the warlike genius of the Franks, under the first dynasty of the French sovereigns; and Charles Martel had erected a system of vassalage, by which the power of the nobles was more closely combined with that of a chief. But the reign of Charlemagne belonged rather to Europe in general, than to his own particular country, and in the history of his descendants we discover for the latter, only the weakness, which permitted the formation of a powerful aristocracy.

The irregularity of the appointment of Pepin, the last king of the former race being still alive, naturally connected him with that ecclesiastical power, by which only it could be sanctioned. The policy of Clovis had suggested a junction with the ecclesiastics: that of the Carlovingian princes, as the second race has been denominated from the illustrious Charlemagne, dictated an alliance with the see of Rome.

The reign of Pepin, which occupied seventeen years and a half, was a fit prelude of that of his greater son, being employed in a series of vigorous exertions to restrain the violences of the barbarous Saxons, to protect the papal see against the threatening power of the Lombards, and to extend the dominion of the crown over the southern provinces of France[1]. Its vigour was tempered with moderation, and directed by wisdom. No blood was shed either to establish, or support the authority of this prince[2], nor was France during his reign agitated by any insurrection; and such was the opinion generally entertained of his prudence, that it became customary to commend a man for this quality by comparing him to Pepin. But wise and vigorous as he was, he was yet only the precursor of his illustrious son, and accordingly he was, with strict propriety, characterised on his tomb but as the father of Charlemagne[3].

---

[1] The principality of Aquitaine, comprehending the provinces

After the death of Pepin, the kingdom was divided between his two sons, Charles and Carloman; but the latter died at the end of three years, and Charles, afterwards named Charlemagne, or Charles *the great*, became in the year 771 the sole king of France. From this time he reigned forty-three years, an illustrious and interesting period of the modern history of Europe. The empire established by this extraordinary man, in a reign comprehending almost the half of a century, was the first imperfect form of that political system, the arrangement of which it is proposed to analyse. Spreading over a large portion of Europe, it contained within its boundaries much of the system afterwards constituted[4], and from its central territory the neighbouring countries received the principles of much of their policy and of their refinement[5].

Though the three years in which Charles held, with his brother, a divided sway, were necessarily less distinguished

---

beyond the Loire, was by Pepin united to the crown of France in the last year of his reign, one hundred and forty, or, as Daniel reckons, one hundred and thirty-six years, after its separation.—Abrégé de l'Hist., &c., tome i. pp. 282, 283.

[2] Ibid., p. 284.

[3] Henault's Chron. Abrigm.

[4] He possessed all Gaul; in Spain, the county of Barcelona; Italy, to Benevento; all Germany, the Netherlands, and a part of Hungary. The limits of his empire were, therefore, on the west, the Atlantic and the Ebro; on the south, the Mediterranean; on the north, the German Ocean and the Eyder; and on the east, the Raab and the mountains of Bohemia.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 39.

[5] The feudal polity, the habits of chivalry, the poetry of the troubadours, the romances of the trouveurs, and the general elegance of modern manners. The Lombards had preceded the French in establishing a feudal polity, and had furnished the code by which the system continued to be regulated; but the other nations of the west received it from the latter, with the addition of the right of primogeniture.

than the remainder of his reign, they were not unimportant to the subsequent measures of his government. Encouraged by the partition of the kingdom[6], Aquitaine, which had been reduced by Pepin, revolted from Charles; but the event served only to manifest the vigour of the young prince, and to dispose the king of the Lombards to solicit his alliance, which was strengthened by a marriage solemnised between him and the daughter of the Lombard monarch. Some unknown disgust, however, caused this princess to be divorced in the following year, as another had been dismissed to make room for her advancement, and the marriage, which it was hoped would have cemented the alliance of the two sovereigns, thus ended in their mutual alienation. As the widow of Carloman had before fled with her infant son to Lombardy for protection, the French king was already disposed to regard with jealousy the power of his Italian neighbour; and the repudiation of the princess tended to widen the breach, which had been merely covered over by a political union. Charlemagne was, by both occurrences, prepared for listening to the overtures soon afterwards made to him by the pope, who found it necessary to seek a protector against the dangerous vicinity of the Lombards.

Of the reign of Charlemagne, Mably has observed[7], that it produced only a transitory good; and that if this prince had been born two centuries sooner, or four centuries later, his government would probably have been permanently beneficial. But Charlemagne should be regarded rather as the father of European policy, than as the sovereign of a particular country. In this larger view we shall perceive abundant reason for concluding, that the time of his existence was accurately accommodated to the part which he had to perform, for, though France cannot ascribe to his interposition much of the institutions of her own particular government, yet the student of the history of modern Europe will find, that almost all his inquiries lead him back to the empire created by this justly celebrated man.

The interior administration of this prince has been the subject of a vehement controversy. Mably, in his anxiety to procure for his own notions of political reformation the sanction of so great a name, has described him as having introduced into the French government the principal institutions[8], which afterwards characterised the English policy, by establishing a regular representation of the third estate, constituting a house of commons distinct from the assemblies of the other orders, and withdrawing himself from the deliberations of the legislature, that they might be conducted with freedom. This description has been ably and successfully opposed by M. Bonnaire de Pronville[9] as neither justified by the existing records of that age, nor indeed consistent with the circumstances, in which Charlemagne was placed. We may therefore dismiss, as the fanciful illusion of a political speculator, much of what the former has gravely detailed; but still enough remains to magnify the character of Charlemagne, as much indeed as can be conceived to have been attainable and salutary. We see this prince, repressing, with a vigorous arm, the turbulence of the various orders of an agitated state, forcing them into a recognition of the existence of a public authority, issuing his injunctions for their better regulation, and, so far as his very difficult circumstances would permit, animating the nation with a feeling of a common interest, to be prosecuted with collective deliberation. If the radiation of his splendour be removed by the telescope of historical criticism, his character, though less considerable than to the common eye, will still be regarded as of the very first magnitude.

---

[6] Abrégé de l'Hist. &c., tome i. pp. 287, 288.

[7] Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. ii. ch. iii.

That part of the foreign policy of Charlemagne, which most occupied his exertions, was the Saxon war, which lasted, almost without interruption, during thirty-three years. This is the part of his conduct, to which we are least disposed to give our commendation. It was a war with barbarians, and the victory was at length achieved by means, which shock every feeling of humanity[10]. But it is fair to consider that this prince did not exercise such violences in any of his other contests, and should therefore be supposed to have been, in this case, prompted by a persuasion, that moderation would have been inconsistent with the safety of his country. Whether, however, Charlemagne be justified or not, it is certain that his northern war was eminently beneficial to the system of Europe, as it gave to the French the combination of a people, as it protected France from the incursions of barbarians, and as it cleared away the impediments, which then in Germany obstructed the formation of a civilised government. Nor, though the peaceable character of the gospel was outraged by military conversions, should this violence be attributed even to an erroneous conception of Christianity, for Charlemagne did not employ violence simply to make the Saxons Christians, but he caused them to profess Christianity, that they might learn to be peaceful subjects. The violence was employed as the instrument of his dominion, while the Christian religion was introduced among them as the discipline of peace.

---

[8] Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. ii. ch. ii.

[9] Pouvoir Législatif sous Charlemagne.

[10] Among the severities of Charlemagne was the very curious institution of the Secret Tribunal of Westphalia, an inquisitorial jurisdiction, which certainly subsisted to the middle of the seventeenth century, and probably yet longer in some parts of Germany. Dortmund was its principal seat, and from it other courts were extended over all Germany. The German princes found it necessary to affiliate themselves to the judges of Dort-

An important operation of this long and violent German war, as a military diversion, has been noticed by the historian of the Roman empire[11]. If such a prince had been at liberty to direct all his efforts to the acquisition of Italy, we must suppose that he would have established an entire ascendency over that country. He who, though embarrassed by this protracted and bloody struggle, was able to suppress the kingdom of the Lombards, would have been able, if he had not been so occupied, to reduce the whole peninsula, and to place the Roman pontiff himself in a real subjection. Instead, then, of an alliance formed between the papacy and the primary government of the west, creating a reciprocal dependence, that govern-

---

mund, to obtain from the emperor the right of holding secret courts of justice within their own territories, or to procure letters patent of exemption. The national diet long struggled in vain to abolish, or to reform this jurisdiction. Charles V., in the year 1535, only condemned the abuses of these courts, without venturing to suppress them. At length, in the year 1650, the great elector, Frederick William, effected their formal abolition at Herforden, though they still continued to exist in some places.—Mr. Coxe's Letter on the Secret Tribunals of Westphalia, addressed to the Countess of Pembroke.

[11] Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 145.

ment would probably have overborne the papacy by a disproportioned protection, and the original combination of the incipient system of policy would have been disturbed or destroyed in the very crisis, in which it should have been formed.

In 774, the third year of his single government, Charlemagne, invited into Italy by the pope, overthrew the kingdom of the Lombards. The donation of Pepin was, on this occasion, confirmed, while the government of Lombardy was assumed by the French monarch. Lombardy he claimed as his own by right of conquest; but, though the pope acknowledged his superiority, and Rome, with the territories ceded to the pope, submitted to his jurisdiction, his authority was in these places professedly subordinate to the sovereignty of the Greek emperor, to whom they had belonged. In this situation the Italian dominion of Charlemagne remained during twenty-six years. In the year 800, the pontiff, in gratitude for protection recently received from him against the nephew and the favourite of his predecessor, and in his anxiety to secure a continuance of that assistance, which the increasing weakness of the Greek empire disqualified it for affording, caused the people of Rome to demand him for their emperor, and did public homage to him in this character. The solemnity conferred no real power upon Charlemagne, who had already exercised as much authority as he afterwards possessed; but it was followed by important consequences, as it furnished to the Roman pontiffs a pretension to the privilege of bestowing the imperial dignity of the west, which was conceived to be inseparable from the imperial city of Rome, and had actually, in this first instance of its re-establishment, been conferred by the agency of the pope.

Charlemagne was, however, a political, not a bigoted, auxiliary of the Roman pontiff. It appears[12], that he but very imperfectly executed the cession even of a territory, for recovering which from the Lombards he had been invited into Italy; and it is at least doubtful, whether he ever actually made that formal donation, which has been mentioned by historians. The great bishoprics[13], too, which he established in his new dominion of Germany, and which afterwards became so many principalities, were the work of a sagacious conqueror, anxious to secure the stability of his acquisitions by bestowing influence on an order of men, whose habits were formed to obedience, and whose ecclesiastical censures might best restrain the laity. The same principle also directed his conduct in France, though, as he was there less apprehensive of the fidelity of his subjects, it did not prompt him to aggrandise the clergy in that country, so much as in Germany. The prelates were accordingly joined with the nobles in the royal legations, which were sent into the provinces, and all the limitations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction were at the same time withdrawn. It was likewise ordained, that the clergy should not be required to appear before any other judges than their bishops, and that all persons under the protection of the clergy should enjoy the same privilege; that the counts, the inferior judges, and the people, should obey the bishops with respect; and that the signioral jurisdictions, possessed by the churches, should be competent to the trial and the punishment of every crime. But he firmly opposed the worship of images [14], which the Roman pontiff was in his time zealously introducing from Constantinople into western Europe, first employing some learned ecclesiastic to compose a treatise reprobating the practice, and afterwards assembling at Frankfort a numerous council, in which the doctrine maintained in the treatise was solemnly confirmed, and the worship of images unanimously condemned; and though he had himself accepted from the pontiff the imperial dignity, yet, when in his advanced age he judged it expedient to associate his son Louis with himself, he directed [15] the young prince to take the crown from the altar, and place it on his own head, to signify that he held it only from God.

---

[12] Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. d'Italie, i. 400—422.

[13] Malmesb.,

A very important measure of his legislation, was that in the year 788, he ordained [16] the first secular law for

---

lib. v. de Rebus Gestis Regum Angliæ. [14] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. v. p. 131. [15] Ibid. p. 146. [16] Selden's Hist. of Tithes, ch. v. & vi. This writer considers the practice as having been begun towards the end of the fourth century, when the arbitrary contributions of the church had begun to prove deficient; these, however, appear to have originally exceeded a tenth, since Cyprian says, in a enforcing the payment of tithes to the clergy, which had before been chiefly a voluntary contribution, not having been mentioned in any council before the council assembled at Mascon, in the year 586. Whatever may be the opinion of the speculative reformers of the present age, it is certain that the founder of the new empire of the west adopted the most effectual expedient for giving to the clergy an establishment, which might elude rapacity, and maintain their subsistence. Great possessions of land would have been more tempting to the avidity of rapacious barons, and the clergy were frequently compelled to submit to such spoliation; but a legal demand of a rated portion of the produce was, in a considerable degree, free from this inconvenience, as the impropriation of tithes[17] was not a very obvious arrangement, nor could the nature of such a title be easily forgotten.

The most splendid transaction of the reign of Charlemagne was his intercourse with the sovereign of Persia, Haroun al Raschid. An embassy of the caliph, who was then master of Jerusalem, conveyed[18] to the western emperor, in the year 802, the property of that city, for the protection of the pilgrims by whom it was frequented; and, though[19] the gift was resumed by his successor the caliph Al Mamon, it may be considered as having prepared the way for the memorable expeditions, undertaken three centuries afterwards for the recovery of the holy land.

The literature of Charlemagne must have been very imperfect, since Eginhard[20] has informed us that his

---

passage quoted by Selden, at nunc nec decimas damus. The canon of the council of Mascon describes the payment of tithes as practised longis temporibus. [17] Though Charles Martel had plundered the French church of much of its lands, and the same thing appears to have been done even more anciently, no instance of any infœdation of tithes occurs in the history of about the three centuries following his time.—Selden, ch. vi. [18] Vita Caroli Magni per Eginhardum, p. 99, and Annales Francorum, p. 19; apud Du Chesne, tome ii. Independently of the esteem, which he entertained for Charlemagne, he regarded him as the enemy of his enemies, the Moors of Spain. Hist. des Français par Sismondi, tome ii. p. 408.

[19] Abrégé de l'Hist. d'Italie, tome i. p. 463. [20] Vita Caroli Magni. The same writer, however, has also informed us that Charlemagne employed himself in forming a grammar of the language, and in collecting the ancient poems of Germany; and Theganus, De Gestis Ludovici Pii, cap. vi., assures us, that on the day preceding

attempts in writing, being late, were very unsuccessful; but his vigorous mind sought information in the society of learned men, and he laboured to provide for his subjects the opportunities of instruction, by establishing schools, and procuring the publication of useful treatises. Muratori informs us[21] that about the year 780, when two learned Irishmen were reported to have landed in France for the purpose of teaching, Charlemagne sent for them, and stationed them in different parts of his dominions, ordering one to reside in France, and creating the other abbot of the monastery of saint Augustin, in Italy. The restoration of learning in France was, however, more particularly, as the same writer has remarked, the work of Alcuin, an Englishman, whom Charlemagne chose as his own preceptor, and appointed to preside over a literary society, which he formed in his palace. Each member of this society, the original academy of modern Europe[22], assumed a particular appellation, Charlemagne, who esteemed himself honoured in being a member, adopting that of David. Henault tells us[23] that the fourth century, or that which preceded the first race of kings, had produced a greater number of learned men in France, than had before flourished in that part of Europe, but that learning had declined there from that time until the reign of Charlemagne. So successful, however, were the efforts of this prince, that the learned of France and Germany, in the ninth century, have been classed by Muratori with those of Greece, and declared to have been much superior to those of Italy.

Of the whole period of the Carlovingian dynasty, or two hundred and thirty-five years, sixty-two, including the two

his death, he was engaged in correcting the text of the four gospels, with the assistance of some Greeks and Syrians.—Apud Du Chesne, tome ii. It should not be omitted, that in his preparations to wage war with the Avars, he laboured to form a communication by a canal between the Rhine and the Danube. If this enterprise had been successful, it might have changed the history of Germany. It failed, however, though the canal would have been but two leagues long, being interrupted by excessive rains, military avocations, and superstitious fears. Some traces of it are still apparent in Suabia.—Decline and Fall, vol. v. p. 145. note.

[21] Antiq. Medii Ævi, tome iii. dis. xliii. p. 814. Mediol. 1738, &c.

[22] Henault's Chron. Abridgm. vol. i. p. 52.

[23] Ibid p. 8.

reigns of Pepin and of Charlemagne, were employed in building up the new empire of the west. The remainder, or one hundred and seventy-three years, a number nearly three times greater, were occupied with its decay and downfall. It is necessary to show that some important operations, which were essential to the general formation of the system, required this remarkable interruption in the progress of improvement.

The two series of princes, by which the Capetian sovereigns were preceded, appear, as has been already remarked, to have had their distinct functions in preparing the arrangements of the government, the kings of the first race beginning the work by establishing one military monarchy, and those of the second proceeding in it by forming a feudal nobility. This latter operation was particularly the function of the degenerate successors of Charlemagne, their incapacity permitting the kingdom to be cantoned into the petty domains of an almost independent aristocracy. Charles Martel had found it necessary to his usurpation to begin the system of feudal dependence, which was extended in the vigorous administrations of Pepin and Charlemagne; but the feudal policy was not matured until the nobility had enjoyed an opportunity of holding their sovereign at defiance, and had thus been enabled to annex feudal rights to feudal dependence. In this long period of weakness, therefore, while the government seemed to be sinking into dissolution, it was internally generating a new power, which the elevation of a third race of kings combined with the monarchy.

The same period of decay was not less auxiliary to the development of the general system, first in giving occasion to the separation of the German and Italian governments, together with the imperial title, from the French crown, and then in permitting the establishment of a great Norman settlement within the territory of France. Out of these two processes it will appear that the two main relations of the incipient system were generated, the one giving being to the important relation of the German empire and the papacy, the other to that of the two leading governments of France and Great Britain. It is manifest that a considerable government could not be subjected to changes so essentially affecting its dignity and power, except when it was suffering, from whatever cause, a protracted debility.

The immediate successor of Charlemagne, his son Louis, was surnamed the *debonnaire*, the real import of which epithet may be collected from an anecdote[24] recorded by Pasquier, that Henry III. used frequently to say, that one could not offend him more than by giving him this title, as implying stupidity. Louis, indeed, during the life of his father, had acted with becoming spirit; but when he was no longer animated and directed by the same presiding genius, he betrayed an entire insufficiency. Anxious to promote the happiness of his people, he yet mistook the littleness of petty reforms for a salutary attention to the general good; he was sincerely zealous in his religious principles, but, by an ill-judged penance for an action[25] authorised by the legislative assembly, he dishonoured the majesty of the crown; and the facility of his temper induced him to make frequent partitions of his dominions among his sons, and at length to exasperate the elder brothers by the provision allotted to the son of his second wife[26]. The reign of such a prince was naturally turbulent. Twice was he dethroned by the rebellion of his sons, and as often restored by their disunion, the passive sport of factions, which his weakness had suffered to be formed, and to become powerful.

His son Charles, surnamed *the bald*, was driven, by the difficulties of his situation, to make concessions to the nobles, which invested them with all the rights of a feudal aristocracy. Pressed by the wasting incursions of the Normans, which were begun in the year 842, or two years after his accession, he summoned an assembly[27], and finding that only the prelates gave their attendance, he laboured to attach the nobles to his service by conferring new benefits. Charlemagne had renounced the power of arbitrarily resuming the benefices held of the crown[28], but had not permitted them to become hereditary. Louis, yielding to necessity, had alienated for ever some of his benefices. Charles consented to render all hereditary, and even allowed the possessors, in failure of children, to bequeath them to any of their relatives. Not having anything more to bestow, he in the year 877 completed the feudal powers of the nobles by also rendering the office of count hereditary. This last concession, which it would have been dangerous, if not impracticable, to withhold, deprived the crown of that military support, which some counts had until this time continued to afford it; and the great feudal proprietors, being thus freed from every control, became thenceforward the arbitrary sovereigns of their respective vassals.

---

[24] Henault's Chron. Abridgm., vol. i. p. 66. [25] The condemnation of Bernard, grandson of Charlemagne, and king of Italy.

[26] It is especially to be remarked that, in his zeal for aggrandising the clergy, he laid the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican church, by issuing an ordinance, directing that the bishops should be nominated by the clergy and people of each diocese, without reference to the crown or to the papacy. Hist. des Français, tome ii. p. 454.

[27] Observ. sur. l'Hist. de France, liv. ii. ch. v.

The same weakness, which had permitted the nobles to become independent, suffered the bishops also to arrogate a power not consistent with the royal authority. Their aggrandisement had been much promoted by the mistaken piety, with which Louis *the debonnaire* had submitted to degrading humiliations; but Charles *the bald*[29] expressly acknowledged that he held his crown from them, and declared that he was ready to appear before them when he should be required. He endeavoured to extend the papal authority over the Gallican church[30], but in this attempt he was firmly and successfully resisted.

The two reigns of Louis *the debonnaire* and Charles *the bald*, in which the royal authority was thus suffered to sink into decay, occupied sixty-three years, considerably more than one-third part of the whole amount of the reigns of the successors of Charlemagne. The remaining hundred and ten comprised nine reigns, a rapid succession of incapable sovereigns, interrupted only by the usurpation of the gallant Eudes, which just served to restrain within due bounds the formidable progress of the Norman invaders of France[31].

---

[28] Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. ii. ch. iii.—v.

[29] Abrége Chron. par Mezeray, tome ii. p. 98.

[30] Ibid. p. 128.

[31] Eudes, count of Paris, was raised to the throne in the year 888, for his gallant defence of that city, when it was besieged by the Normans During his reign of ten years it was also twice unsuccessfully invested by the same people.—Abrégé de l'Hist. de la France, tome ii. 186, 192.

With this single and necessary exception, created by the occasion, these princes exhibited a deplorable succession of imbecility, during almost the whole of which the nobles were accustomed to wage war among themselves[32], without regard to any claim of royal dominion. It was terminated in the year 987, when Hugh Capet, the son of a noble, who had twice disposed of the crown among the posterity of Charlemagne, usurped it for himself, and began the third race of the kings of France. So spoiled at this time was the crown of all the means of influence, that it was reduced to the possession of the city of Laon and some royal residences[33]. The usurpation was therefore even necessary to the continuance of the monarchy, for it required to be strengthened by the accession of some great aristocratic interest, which could be effected only by the advancement of some powerful noble to the throne.

The adaptation of this train of insufficient princes received a very remarkable illustration from the very different characters of the princes at the same time ruling in Germany. That country, having been recently reclaimed from barbarism, required to be formed into a regular government by the energy of its rulers. It was accordingly, with two short interruptions, governed by a series of men distinguished by ability, at the very time when the government of France exhibited such an extraordinary series of imbecility. Nor can it be said, as Mably has remarked[34], that the apprehension of the neighbouring barbarians had excited a spirit of union among the nobles of Germany, for the ravages of the Normans should, in France, have exercised a similar influence. We must therefore, conclude that two distinct sets of agents have been introduced into the two countries, accommodated to their respective functions by qualities directly contrasted.

Louis the Germanic, a son of Louis *the debonnaire*, was the first prince who ruled Germany as a separate state. Louis *the debonnaire* had, in his life-time, divided his dominions among his three sons, Lothaire, Louis the Germanic, and Charles *the bald;* they quarrelled immediately after his decease, and in the year 843 a division of the empire was formerly concluded by the treaty of Verdun[35]. Germany was, indeed, again united to France under the son of Louis; but when, after the deposition of this prince, the empire became divided into five principalities, the Germans, attached to the family of Louis, chose for their sovereign his illegitimate grandson Arnold, and maintained from that time, the year 888, a separate government, the increasing weakness of the French government securing them from all molestation.

---

[32] From the reign of Charles *the simple*, or during almost a century before the reign of Hugh Capet.—Abrégé de l'Hist. de la France, tome ii. p. 223. [33] Ibid. p. 258. [34] Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. iv. ch. vi.

---

[35] Lothaire, the eldest, had the imperial dignity, with the provinces situated between the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuse, the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Alps; Louis had all Germany beyond the Rhine, together with the cantons of Mentz, Spire, and Worms; Charles *the bald* had all that part of France which extended from the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Saone, and the Rhone, to the Pyrenees, together with the Spanish march, composed of the county of Barcelona, and the other countries conquered by Charlemagne beyond the Pyrenees. Charles has been pronounced, by Koch, the first king of France, properly so named, the government having been before this partition Francic or German, but the influence of the Gauls from this time prevailing in it. The Roman, or Romance language, which generated the modern French, became accordingly, from this time, the language of the court.

After the deposition of Charles *the fat*, son of Louis the Germanic, three new states, besides the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy, arose out of the decay of the French empire.

The kingdom of Lorraine, which took its name from Lothaire II., younger son of Lothaire I., being contracted from *Lotharii regnum*, comprehended the provinces situated between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, known since by the names of Lorraine, Alsace, Treves, Cologne, Juliers, Liège, and the Netherlands. This territory had been assigned to Lothaire II., in the year 855, when Louis became separately king of Italy. After some fluctuation between France and Germany, it became permanently united to the latter about the year 923.

The kingdom of Cisjurane Burgundy was created in the year 879, by a noble named Boson, whose sister was the wife of Charles *the bald*. It comprehended Franche Comté, Macon, Chalons-Sur-Saone, Lyons, Vienne, Usez, with their dependencies in Languedoc, Provence, and a part of Savoy. The example of Boson was, in the year 888, followed by Rodolph, governor of Transjurane Burgundy, connected through a female line with the family of Charlemagne. His kingdom comprehended Swisserland to the river Russ, the Vallais, and a part of Savoy. The two kingdoms were united towards the year 930, since which time the united kingdom has been variously denominated the kingdom of Burgundy, of Vienne, of Arles, and of Provence. From the time of the grandson of the prince, in whose reign the two kingdoms were united, the territory was bounded by the Rhine, the Rhone, the Saone, the Russ, and the Alps, the possessions lying beyond the Rhone and the Saone having been lost.

Navarre, with Aragon, became a kingdom in the year 858, Barcelona, alone of the three provinces beyond the Pyrenees, continuing to acknowledge the sovereignty of the kings of France.—Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, tome i. p. 66–73.

The connexion of Italy with France had ever been but slight and the separation was therefore easily effected. By the treaty of Verdun, Italy, with certain provinces of France, had been constituted a separate kingdom for Lothaire, the eldest of the sons of Louis *the debonnaire.* This prince having, in the year 855, abdicated the government, Louis his son became king of Italy exclusively of those other provinces. After his death, which happened in the year 875, the kingdom of Italy became again united with France, as he had left no male issue. It was two years afterwards, in the course of succession, assigned successively to two German princes of the family of Charlemagne, and then again united to the French monarchy; and it was finally separated in the year 888, when it became evident to the Italians, that[36], in the declining state of France, no protection could be hoped from the interposition of that country, for the defence of their own against the incursions and ravages of the Saracens.

The imperial dignity had never been formally connected with the crown of France. Charlemagne had wished to effect this union, but was resisted by the independent spirit of his own nobles, who saw in the proposed aggrandisement of their sovereign only a splendid degradation of themselves[37]. The opposition of the French nobles preserved the system of Europe. As the title of emperor, however little it bestowed of real strength, constituted a very peculiar relation with the see of Rome, it is evident that the entire system would have been disturbed, and its fortune wholly changed, if France had retained that dignity, instead of suffering it to be transferred to Germany. The agitation, which this relation eventually produced, might assist the functions of a secondary government; but, if the central state had been exposed to its influence, the result must have been the general weakness of the whole system, not the peculiarly modified action of one of its members.

---

[36] Giannone, lib. i. cap. i. sez. 9.

[37] Ibid. lib. vi. cap. v.

The imperial dignity accordingly, when, in connexion with the Italian kingdom, it had fluctuated some time between France and Italy, was finally detached from the government of the former country, with the kingdom of the latter, in the year 888, the Italians having resolved, that they would henceforth acknowledge only Italian emperors. The new plan was, however, renounced in the year 962, in favour of Otho king of Germany, having been found to involve the Italians in domestic contention.

While the weakness of the successors of Charlemagne suffered the distant members of his empire to be severed from the trunk, it also permitted a nearer mutilation in the real, though not nominal, independence of a Norman settlement formed within the territory of France. The depredations of the Normans had been begun even before the conclusion of the reign of that prince, who guarded his dominions against them with the most active vigilance. After his death their incursions were renewed from time to time; but it was in the year 842[38], or two years after the accession of Charles *the bald*, that they commenced those deplorable ravages, which ended in extorting for them the cession of a French province. In the year 896 appeared Hrolfr, or Rollo[39], who, in the year 912, became the founder of the Norman duchy, for which he was bound only to the ceremony of homage, while he held the lordship of Brittany as a fief of the crown of France. The Normans[40] were then at length disposed to abandon their predatory habits, the country having been so ravaged, that it was even difficult to procure subsistence, and a spirit of resistance having arisen amidst the independence of the lords of France.

These Normans appear to have been established in France just at the time, when they might best acquire there those habits of feudal government, which, after a century and a half, they carried into England. The feudal regulations, however, which they thus received, were improved under the influence of their own particular circumstances, and formed into a regular system of government. A conquering chieftain would know how to repress the turbulence

[38] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome ii. p. 83. [39] Ibid. 199, 206. Henault. vol. i. p. 84. [40] Hist. des Français, tome iii. pp. 337. 338.

of a feudal aristocracy, and assert his authority over his vassals; and the exposed condition of a settlement formed within the territory of another government, would oblige its successive leaders to the continued observance of the same energetic policy. The local situation of the duchy, which was adjacent to the southern shore of England, was not less fitted for transferring to that country the political combinations, which it was so well circumstanced for completing. The Norman settlement[41] was at the same time to France itself a source of renovated vigour and improvement. They not only communicated to the degenerate nation their own military and adventurous spirit, but adopting, probably through the teaching of the clergy, the rude dialect of the country, they gave to it so much regularity, that after a century they employed it in framing a code of laws, and in composing romances of chivalry.

At the close of the period of history reviewed in this chapter, the kingdom of France was reduced to such a state of weakness, that it has become a question to explain how the monarchy had existed so long. Amidst a series of civil commotions, continued through so long a period, while the face of the kingdom was changed, the name of the royal authority was still treated with respect, though the great nobles seemed to have the power of abolishing it at their pleasure. The continuance of the monarchy in circumstances so adverse has been, by Mably[42], ascribed to the incapacity of the Carlovingian sovereigns, taking away from the French nobles every motive, which might have impelled them to renounce their allegiance. M. de Pronville[43], however, appears to have assigned the true and adequate cause, in ascribing it to the great power of the clergy, which had, as he remarks, exercised a similar influence in the former period of decay, preceding the commencement of the Carlovingian dynasty. This, which was long the principle of combination among the several powers of Europe, may naturally have been the conservative principle in the original government of the system, in which it had itself grown out of the weakness of those princes.

---

[41] Hist. de Français, tome iii. pp. 334, 335.

[42] Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. ii. ch. v.

[43] Pouvoir Législatif sous Charlemagne, tome i. p. 159.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the history of France, from the beginning of the reign of Hugh Capet in the year 987, *to the first meeting of the states general, in the year* 1303.

Change of policy in regard to Rome—The pragmatic sanction of Louis IX.—Peculiar bearing of the long reign of Philip I.—Influences of the Norman conquest of England upon the government of France—Crusades begun—Institution of civil corporations—Influence of the divorce of Eleanor, queen of Louis *the young*—Aggrandisement of the crown begun by the acquisition of the English provinces—First standing forces—Provinces voluntarily ceded to the English by Louis IX.—Reforms of this prince—Nobility bestowed by patent, and lawyers employed in the administration—States general assembled—Four supports of the feudal system—how overthrown—The inquisition established in France.

At the commencement of the third dynasty of France, the monarchical part of the government was most seasonably reinforced by the accession of strength which the founder of that dynasty brought to its relief. Hugh Capet[1], as count of Paris and duke of France and of Orleans, was invested with very considerable power in that part of the kingdom, in which it could be most effectual to the restoration of the monarchy. Various circumstances had favoured the advancement of this chieftain to the throne of his country[2]. The unexpected death of Louis V., who left no posterity; the aversion entertained by the French for his uncle Charles, because he had consented to hold the duchy of Lower Lorraine as a vassal of the crown of Germany; the odiousness of the character of the queen, who had ill agreed with her husband, and has even been suspected of having occasioned his death; and the affection conceived for Hugh Capet himself, who had by his valour and prudence conciliated the general good will in the two preceding reigns; all concurred to procure for his elevation the consent of the greater part of the nobility. Charles, indeed, maintained his pretension; but his death, which occurred about five years afterwards, left the new sovereign[3] in the peaceable possession of the kingdom.

---

[1] Hist. des Français, tome iv. p. 40. The duchy of France comprehended all the country situated between the Seine and the Meuse. Ibid., tome iii. p. 391.

[2] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome ii. pp. 273, 274.

Hugh Capet, and his son and successor Robert, appear to have been particularly solicitous to secure the recent acquisition of the crown by the same expedient, which had already been employed with success by the founders of the two preceding dynasties. The former[4] accordingly gave up to the church all the abbies which he held, restored to the clergy and the monasteries the right of election, and, by his example, induced the lords to make similar sacrifices. The latter manifested his piety in a very extraordinary manner. He rebuilt old churches[5], erected new, and caused numbers of poor persons to be supplied with food in all the cities of his kingdom; he kept more than two hundred poor in his own house, whom he led every where with him, and even suffered to place themselves under his table; and he delighted in singing in the choir, and in composing words or music for the religious service of the church. It deserves attention, that in this instance, as in that of the advancement of the Carlovingian family, the clergy had been previously impoverished to such a degree, as to preclude that enormous aggrandisement, which would else have been the result of the repeated adoption of the same policy. Before the exaltation of Pepin the church had been pillaged by Charles Martel, to provide bribes for his military followers; and before that of Hugh Capet, the depredations of the feudal lords, in the anarchy of the latter part of the Carlovingian period, had again corrected the excesses of the royal liberality.

A remarkable distinction may, however, be observed in regard to the manner, in which the support of the clergy was courted by the sovereigns of the third race, compared with those of the preceding dynasty. Pepin and Charlemagne had connected themselves closely with the see of Rome; but the princes of the third race, while they were careful to conciliate the clergy of France, were vigilant in guarding themselves against the usurpations of the papacy.

---

[3] He, however, left two infant sons, nor was his posterity extinct until the year 1248. Hist des Français. tome iv. p. 50.

[4] Abrégé Chron. par Mezeray, tome ii. pp. 366, 367.

[5] Ibid., p. 412.

Accordingly Hugh Capet[6], though forced to submit to the restoration of an archbishop of Rheims, whom he had caused to be deposed for adhering to his competitor, yet could never be induced by the papal legate to release him from confinement; Louis IX. too, who, for his extraordinary piety, has been distinguished as a saint, not only resisted the encroachments of the Roman pontiff[7], but even refused to receive him into his kingdom, when constrained to retire from Italy; and it was chiefly, if not solely, for the purpose of collecting a more powerful opposition to the extravagant pretensions of the papacy[8], that Philip *the fair* assembled the first convention of the states general of France. The liberties of the Gallican church were further secured by *the pragmatic sanction*, ordained by Louis IX., in the year 1268, while he was engaged in making preparations for a second crusade. They were finally settled by the *concordat*, which Francis I. concluded with the Roman see in the year 1515, gaining for the crown the right of presenting to the greater benefices, which, by the *pragmatic sanction* of Louis IX., had been ordained to be elective.

For understanding the bearing of this change of policy, in regard to the church, it is to be considered that France at this time stood in a different position. The empire established by Charlemagne was the foundation rather of the general system of Europe, than of the monarchy of France. It was necessary therefore that France should, in the time of that prince, be connected with the see of Rome, because this connexion was the original principle of the combination of the system to be afterwards formed; but when Germany and Italy had both been separated from France, and the imperial dignity had been permanently transferred to the crown of the former of these countries, it was expedient that France, as the main and central government of the system, should be preserved as much as possible from the influence of a connexion, which would have occasioned to it disturbance and weakness.

---

[6] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome ii. p. 280. [7] Ibid., tome iii. pp. 154, 155. [8] Boniface VIII. had summoned by a bull the bishops of France and the doctors of law to attend him at Rome, for the purpose of deliberating in regard to the means of extending religion, of preserving ecclesiastical liberty, of reforming the kingdom, of correcting the excesses of the king, and of establishing a good government in the state. The archdeacon of Narbonne, who bore this bull, admonished the king, that he, as well as all other princes, was bound to acknowledge, that he held from the pope the temporal sovereignty of his kingdom.—Ibid., pp. 261, 262.

Henry I., who was the third of the Capetian princes, appears to have followed in the path marked out by his predecessors, carefully conciliating that attachment of the ecclesiastics, which was so desirable in managing a feudal nobility. In this latter respect he adopted a very remarkable precaution, sending even to Russia for a consort[9], that he might be sure to avoid the vexatious embarrassments of relationship, which had involved his predecessor in a contention with the see of Rome.

It may indeed be remarked generally of the reigns comprehended within the present chapter, that all, except one, were adapted, however variously, to the work of consolidating and enlarging the royal authority. That one was the reign of Philip I., which was begun in the year 1060, and ended in the year 1108, extending through the space of forty-eight years. It has been observed of this prince[10], that his reign is famous for great events, in which he had no share, and that he appeared to his subjects the more contemptible, as that century was fruitful in heroes. In the hands of such a sovereign the royal authority could not fail to be weakened, especially as his reign was of so long duration; and it is a curious inquiry to examine, what account can be given of this very protracted interruption of the general progress of the government.

The Norman conquest of England, effected six years after the commencement of the reign of this prince, seems to furnish the solution of the difficulty. That the great vassal of the French crown should be at liberty to accomplish this important enterprise, which would raise him to an equality with his former lord, it was necessary that the growing vigour of the royal authority in France should be relaxed for a considerable period. Accordingly, of a reign of forty-eight years, thirteen years were passed in a minority, and the remainder was embarrassed by the censures of the pope, which the king incurred by an adulterous marriage[11]; and, even though these circumstances had not obstructed the exertions of Philip, yet his love of pleasure would have disqualified him for opposing any resistance to the aggrandisement of the duke of Normandy. During the minority, indeed, the government was ably administered by Baldwin, count of Flanders, who had been named regent by the preceding king; but it is observable that one of the daughters of Baldwin was married to the duke of Normandy, and another to Tosti, brother of king Harold, so that while his connexion with the one son-in-law disposed him to maintain a good understanding between the duke and his sovereign[12], his connexion with the other induced him to favour the ambition of Tosti[13], which distracted the attention of Harold, and contributed to his ruin.

---

[9] Abrégé Chron. par Mezeray, tome ii. p. 469.

[10] Henault's Chron. Abridgm., vol. i. p. 126.

What influence the Norman conquest of England exercised upon the government of England, shall be considered in another part of this work. That it eventually favoured the advancement of the royal power in France may be easily explained. Had the dukes of Normandy continued to be merely the most powerful chieftains of France, they might have been able to overthrow the Capetian dynasty, as this had set aside the posterity of Pepin and Charlemagne; and in such a case the power of the crown must, as in the advancement of Hugh Capet, have been much augmented by the accession of so considerable a lordship. But by the Norman conquest of England, Normandy, with its appendages, became a foreign and hostile territory; those provinces, therefore, when recovered by France, became a military acquisition, instead of a domestic union; and the monarchy of France was enabled to establish itself in them with a more sovereign authority than it could have acquired if they had been simply united to the crown, with all their feudal combinations unimpaired.

---

[11] With Bertrade, wife of the count of Anjou, while his queen Bertha was still living.

[12] The king promised the duke the investiture of the duchy for his son Robert, if his enterprise should be successful.—Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome ii. p. 307.

[13] He permitted Tosti to employ in his expedition all the ships in the ports of Flanders.—Ibid. p. 306. When Tosti had failed in his attempt, he instigated the king of Norway to the invasion which contributed so much to the success of the duke of Normandy.—Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 138, 139. London, 1732.

Another great event, which Philip regarded as an unconcerned spectator, was the commencement of those memorable expeditions[14], which, by uniting the west against the east, gave a grand impulse to the improvement of Europe. In these expeditions, France, the most considerable country of the incipient system, had a principal share; but they arose from the prevailing sentiment of the age, and required not the example and influence of kings, until the first fervour of enthusiasm had been exhausted.

When such a reign, protracted to almost the half of a century, had allowed a sufficient time for the settlement of the new government in the neighbouring country, and had also permitted the popular enthusiasm to break forth into the extravagant enterprise of the crusade, without involving the government, the royal authority began again to make a regular progress in France, and the conduct of every prince, in the remainder of the period comprehended within this chapter, seems to have been directed to this single end.

Louis *the gross*, who succeeded Philip I., exerted himself with much effect in repressing the lawless independence of his feudal vassals, though embarrassed by the power and policy of Henry II. of England, his contemporary. Before this reign, the kingdom had been one general scene of violence[15], the lords all occupying castles, from which they sallied out on the highways to rob the defenceless travellers and common people. Louis gave a beginning to a more orderly system of administration, partly by combating the disturbers of the public peace, and yet more effectually by the important institution of civil corporations[16], which furnished the commons with a political strength, enabling them to oppose and balance the power of the nobles. His son, Louis *the young*[17], pursued a similar course in the latter part of his reign; and, though in the earlier part he was long absent in a crusade, yet the wise and vigorous government of the abbé Suger, who had been nominated regent, maintained the public order. One act, indeed, of this prince contributed much to weaken the kingdom, and to strengthen the rival state, his divorce of his queen Eleanor, by whose subsequent marriage with the heir of the crown of England[18], extensive territories in the southern part of France were added to the provinces of that country, already held by the neighbouring government. Even this, however, was indirectly conducive to the ultimate aggrandisement of the royal authority of France[19], as it completed that external compression, which combined and invigorated the efforts of the sovereign.

---

[14] The first crusade was arranged by the council of Clermont, assembled in the year 1095, and was actually undertaken in the following year.

[15] Abrégé Chron. par Mezeray, tome iii. p. 46.

[16] Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. iii. ch. vii. Sismondi however attributes the first formation of these corporations to the gradually increasing importance of the citizens, and has specified that of Mans as established in the year 1070, or thirty-eight years before the commencement of the reign of Louis *the gross*. Hist. des Français, tome iv. p. 417, &c. He has further stated that Louis

At length, in the year 1180, Philip, surnamed the *august*, ascended the throne of France, and from this time the royal authority made rapid advances to the reduction of the great feudal lordships. The kings, says Boulainvilliers[20], beginning with this prince, though of different characters, all tended to the same point. Philip *the august*, ambitious and crafty, ruined the great fiefs; *saint* Louis,

---

had granted charters only to eight communities; that these had solicited them because their immediate lords were not able to protect them, or because they were subject to a divided jurisdiction; that he had done this for money, not through policy; and that similar charters were at the same time granted by the great vassals. Ibid. tome v. pp. 120—132. The effect however was the same, whatever may have been their origin. [17] Abrégé Chron. par Mezeray, tome iii. p. 90. [18] Guienne and Poitou were, by this marriage, added to Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine.—Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. v. p. 3. London, 1788. The divorce had been granted on the plea of kindred, at the desire of Eleanor, perhaps of both parties. The consanguinity is stated to have consisted in this, that the wife of Hugh Capet was sister of the grandfather of Eleanor. Hist. des Français, tome v. p. 379.

[19] Henry, says Daniel, came to France to pay that homage which must have made him tremble who received it; the provinces for which it was offered, and of which the king of England was sovereign in every respect, except this ceremony, forming a great part of the kingdom.—Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome ii. p. 409. [20] Historical Account of the Parliaments of France, vol. i. p. 202. Lond. 1739.

influenced by the clergy, gave to the lowest clerks a judicial rank, which exalted them above the greatest lords; and Philip *the fair*, avaricious and disregarding the church, introduced the commons into the public councils.

Before the reign of Philip Augustus[21], the kings of France had been less powerful than some of their own subjects; but his recovery of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou, effected in a reign of forty-three years, began the re-establishment of the predominance of the crown. Nor were his acquisitions confined to these conquests, since by policy he became possessed of the countries of Auvergne, Artois, and Picardy, and of many districts in Berri. He took care also to procure for himself the support of a permanent body of forces, in imitation of Henry II. of England[22]; and he contrived to induce the clergy to furnish the means of supporting it[23], by refusing to protect them against the violences of the lords except by entreaty, as they had pleaded that they could assist him only with their prayers.

Louis VIII., the son of this Philip, prosecuted in a short reign of three years, the military successes of his father; and in his reign, as Mably[24] has remarked, the French began to suspect, that it was necessary to have in the state one great power, which should move, control, and govern, with the same spirit, all its several parts. He made accordingly some general regulations; but he carefully avoided to assume the rank and tone of a legislator, which would have been offensive to his subjects, and his ordinances are only treaties of confederation, concluded with the prelates and nobles of his court.

Saint Louis then succeeded, and in a reign of forty-four years, beginning in the year 1226, very considerably augmented the ascendency of the royal authority. This reign is a remarkable example of the influence of moral sentiment in political government, since, though he was by no means destitute of military spirit, or political vigour, yet his characteristical peculiarities were extraordinary piety, integrity, and moderation. His piety however, though it disposed him to treat the clergy with much respect, and engaged him in two crusades, did not blind him to the encroachments of papal ambition, which he not only repelled from his own dominions[25], but refused to support against the German emperor. His integrity was so unquestioned, that the contest between Henry III. of England and the barons of that country was submitted to his arbitration, and the English monarch[26], deeply sensible of the fairness of his conduct, was, from that time, accustomed to call him father; the barons however, were of a different opinion, and refused to acquiesce. To his moderation it must be attributed, that in the year 1259, he restored to England several districts[27], which had been recovered by the two preceding princes. It must be acknowledged that, by these cessions, he appears to have prepared the way for the subsequent triumphs of the rival country; but, since the temporary triumphs of England were themselves preparatory to the exaltation of the royal authority in France, the conduct of Louis, though not agreeable to the dictates of present policy, was, in its remoter consequences, conducive to the very end, which a politician might have proposed to attain. The cession of Louis had, in truth, an operation similar to that of the divorce of the queen of Louis *the*

---

[21] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome ii p. 533. [22] Ibid., p. 434. [23] Abrégé Chron. par Mezeray, tome iii. p. 182.
[24] Observ. sur. l'Hist. de France, liv. iv. ch. ii.

---

[25] When he had in vain endeavoured to reconcile pope Innocent IV. with the emperor Frederic II., the pope. compelled to retire from Italy, designed to seek refuge in France; but he refused his consent, and the pope was forced to remain at Lyons, which was nominally held of the emperor, but was really ruled by its archbishop.—Abrégé de l'Hist., tome iii. p. 43. He also published in the year 1269 the ordinance named the pragmatic sanction, for securing the liberties of the Gallican church.

[26] Ibid., p. 156.

[27] Limosin, Querci, and Perigord; and also Agen, with its district, and a part of Xaintonge beyond the Charente, if, after the death of the count and countess of Poictiers, they should revert to the crown.—Ibid., p. 118. The English at that time possessed in France only Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and some other places in Gascony. —Ibid. p. 120. Gaillard has quoted from Joinville a passage, which proves that Daniel erred in ascribing to a scruple of conscience, a cession, which had been prompted only by a principle of conciliation. —Hist. de la Rivalité de la France et de l'Angleterre, tome ii. p. 394. Paris, 1771. In the preceding year the king of France had, in the same spirit of moderation, settled the common boundary with Spain, which had been much embarrassed by the intermixture of feudal pretensions. Of France the lordship of Montpellier alone remained to the king of Aragon. Hist. des Français, tome vii. pp. 40—42.

young, as it served to renew that predominance of the English power, which was instrumental to the consolidation of the French government. Of the wise moderation of this prince it is the noblest eulogy, that, in succeeding reigns, the nobility and people [28], when discontented with the administration, demanded only that abuses should be reformed agreeably to the practices of the reign of *saint* Louis.

The reign of this prince began with a minority, as he succeeded to the crown at the age of twelve years. The government, however, did not, on that account, suffer any relaxation, being ably conducted by the mother of the young prince, who continued to possess the entire confidence of her son to the time of her death, in the twenty-sixth year of her reign. The regency of a female so eminently gifted as the mother of *saint* Louis, was, indeed, a suitable introduction to a reign of moral moderation. Her sex, however, had a direct concern with the success of her own measures, since it was by the gallantry of one of the lords, that she was, on one occasion, enabled to disconcert the designs of the confederated nobles [29]. When she died, the king had established himself so firmly in the confidence of his people, chiefly by his expedition to Palestine [30], that he could venture to act more openly than his predecessor, as the legislator of France. This advantage he secured by the most prudent management, proscribing in the beginning only the most acknowledged abuses [31], and resigning to the lords the fines exacted for offences committed within their lands; and he was powerfully aided by the clergy, who were interested in abolishing the reign of violence. Among his other reforms, he prohibited, though ineffectually, the private wars [32], which the nobles had regarded as a privilege of their rank, ever since the decay of the second race of kings had enfeebled the sovereign authority: he also endeavoured to substitute a trial by witnesses in the place of the judicial combat [33], prohibiting the latter in all places within his immediate jurisdiction, but without attempting to constrain the nobles to imitate him in a measure so foreign from the usages of his time. This other reform, while it suppressed a practice of barbarous violence, was directly auxiliary to the extension of the royal authority, for the trial by witnesses was accompanied by the practice of appealing to the supreme court of the king[34], in correspondence to the appellatory proceedings of the ecclesiastical judicatures. The power of the lords was, at the same time, diminished by an ordinance[35], which converted into distinct and independent baronies the portions detached from the ancient fiefs in favour of the younger members of families.

---

[28] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome iii. p. 154.

[29] Abrégé Chron. par Mazeray, tome iii. p. 378. Sismondi, however, attributes to policy, that the queen entered into negotiation with the count of Champagne. Hist. des Français, tome vii. p. 29.

[30] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, tome iii. p. 113.

[31] Observ. sur. l'Hist. de France, liv. iv. ch. ii.

[32] Abrégé de l'Hist. de France, iii. p. 112.

[33] The practice of judicial combats appears to have been, origin-

ally, a usage of the barbarous tribes of Germany, to have been abolished for a time by the influence of a recent conversion to Christianity, and afterwards to have been resumed on account of the difficulty of legal investigations. The half civilised nations of Europe, unable to unravel the intricacies of evidence, and accustomed to assent to legendary accounts of miracles, alleged to have been wrought on the most trifling occasions, were well disposed to believe, that the divine providence would interpose for the determination of their contests, especially as the appeal was made in a manner, which gratified ferocity. To this mode of decision, accordingly, was a question of law, concerning the right of legal representation in families, submitted in Germany in the tenth century; and, which was yet more extravagant, the choice between two liturgies was, in the eleventh, referred to it in Spain.—Robertson's Charles V., vol. i. sect. 1. and note 22. Mably has remarked, that, though it could not fail to appear, that guilt was sometimes triumphant, yet they contrived to save the honour of providence, by imputing the irregularity to the impiety of the combatant, in relying more on his own prowess, than on the protection of the Virgin and saint George, or to some ancient and secret offence, which then received the just retribution of heaven.—Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. iii. ch. iii.

Philip *the fair*, in the year 1305, prohibited the judicial combat in civil causes.—Henault's Chron. Abridgm. The combat of the year 1547, mentioned by Robertson as the last instance of the judicial combat fought in France, seems to have been the transition to the modern duel; for, though it was fought in the presence of the court, it is described by Henault as occasioned by a private quarrel about the amours of the combatants. In the year 1602, an edict was issued by Henry IV., against the new practice of duelling; other edicts were published by succeeding monarchs, and the practice has been much restrained by the royal authority. Under our government, all questions concerning it must necessarily be referred to juries, and must, therefore, follow the course of public opinion.

[31] Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. iii. ch. vii.

[32] Ibid. liv. iv. ch. i.

In the reign of the next prince, Philip III., the feudal nobility were doubly disparaged, first by a grant of nobility made by letters patent to a goldsmith[36]; and, secondly, by introducing into the royal court, for the transaction of business, a class of persons inferior to those with which it had been hitherto filled. The new formalities, requisite in the appeals, which had been introduced on the abolition of judicial combats[37], had rendered it necessary that persons should be admitted, qualified for conducting legal proceedings. The ignorance of the nobles had before given an ascendency to the clergy; at this time the intelligence of an inferior order of persons, especially devoted to the study of jurisprudence, undermined the importance of the latter. As the lawyers now introduced read only the bible and the code of Justinian[38], they applied to the Capetian princes all which is said of David in the one, and of the imperial power in the other; and they were so eager to aggrandise the crown, to which they were indebted for their appointment, that Louis X. was forced to moderate their zeal.

At length Philip *the fair*, who ascended the throne in the year 1285, destroyed the forms of the feudal government, by convening the first assembly of the states general of France. In a feudal government the great council properly consisted of the vassals, who held their fiefs directly from the sovereign; and if any communities were permitted to send representatives, they should be those only which were included within the royal demesnes. When, therefore, this prince assembled a council composed of all the orders of the state, and comprehending representatives of all the incorporated towns of the kingdom, he infringed the essential principle of a feudal government, and prepared the way for its entire abolition; it was thenceforward supported only by the power of the great lords, which was afterwards crushed by Louis XI., and finally destroyed in the administration of cardinal Richelieu. Louis IX. had, in some degree, made preparation for this decisive measure of Philip IV., having, in his anxiety to

[36] Henault's Chr. Abr., vol. i. p. 198.

[37] Obs. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. iv. ch. ii.

[38] Ibid. Mably says that Louis IX. had caused this code to be translated.

obtain minute information concerning the interests of his subjects[39], summoned to his court persons acquainted with the circumstances of the several communities, or civil corporations; but the persons summoned by Louis were named by himself, whereas the deputies sent to the assembly of Philip were elected by the several towns, which they represented.

The convention of this first assembly of the states general arose out of the various difficulties, in which the king was involved, the primary cause of which[40] appears to have been the expensiveness of a war, which he waged against the Flemings, who struggled for independence. The king was much distressed by the consequences of a series of violent alterations of the value of the coin, which Mably[41] has attributed to a profound policy, but which we may more reasonably ascribe to an impatient desire of escaping from pecuniary embarrassment, especially as the crusades had occasioned a scarcity of money[42]; and his embarrassment was aggravated by a violent contention with the most aspiring of the Roman pontiffs, Boniface VIII., occasioned by an attempt to procure relief for his necessities in levying a tenth of the incomes of the clergy[43]. In these difficulties it became necessary to call together an assembly composed of all the orders of the state. The states general accordingly met[44], for the first time, in the year 1303, and supported the king in his struggle with the pontiff, devising for this purpose the expedient of appealing from the papal authority to a future council.

---

[39] Boulainvilliers, on the Anc. Parl. of France, vol. i. pp. 218, 219. The representatives of the third estate appear to have been the king's bailiffs, who were, in that reign, first established over the whole kingdom, having been before confined to the royal demesnes.—Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. iv. ch. i. [40] Hist. des Français, tome ix. pp. 150, 156. [41] Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. iv. ch. iii.

[42] Henault's Chron. Abridgm., i. p. 218. [43] Philip, to carry on the war against Edward I. of England, levied this tenth. The pope issued a bull, forbidding the clergy to furnish money to princes, without the consent of the see of Rome, which was answered by an ordinance of Philip, forbidding the people of France to convey money or bullion out of the kingdom. In the progress of the struggle, Boniface advanced the extravagant pretension of temporal sovereignty, stated in note 8. [44] History does not furnish any detailed account of the proceedings of this convention. — Observ. sur l'Hist. de France, liv. iv. ch. iii. Boulainvilliers, however, mentions, that the first meeting was held on the day of mid-lent, that the states assembled daily until the Tuesday in the holy week; and that the third estate communicated their sentiments

The feudal government of France, which had its beginning under the second race of kings, and was matured under the earlier princes of the third, was in this manner destroyed, in its most essential character, at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Nor did its relation to the policy of Europe require a longer continuance. Its operation appears to have consisted in constituting an order of nobles, capable of maintaining the equilibrium of the mixed government of more modern times; and, when such an order had been formed amidst the anarchy of the feudal ages, the progressive improvement of society required, that it should be reduced into a subordination to the general welfare. In France this reduction was effected by the exaltation of the power of the crown, of which the English wars furnished the principal occasion. In the more favoured government of England we discover the same result, arising from the increased importance of the commons, which was also favoured by the same wars. Nor will it appear surprising that the struggles of the two countries should in the one have aggrandised the crown, and in the other have favoured the importance of the people, when it shall have been considered that they bore opposite characters in regard to France and England, being domestic and successful in regard to the former, and in regard to the latter, foreign and terminating in discomfiture and loss.

At the commencement of the third race of kings[45], the sovereignty, which the lords had usurped in their demesnes, had become the most insupportable tyranny, each demesne being an actual prison to its inhabitants. The

---

by a petition, which they presented kneeling.—Hist. of the Anc. Parl. of France, vol. i. pp. 226, 227. Mezeray mentions the appeal to a council, founded on the allegation of various crimes, imputed to the pontiff.—Abrégé Chron., tom. iii. p. 530. Sismondi has described the meeting as held simply on account of the contention with the pope, and as having lasted only a single day. Hist. des Francais, tome ix. pp. 83, 89.

[45] The following account of the growth and decline of the feudal government of France has been chiefly abridged from the Observations of Mably, book iii. & iv.

disorders of the time had greatly multiplied the number of slaves; but even those who were considered as free, were in a situation little preferable to slavery. These pretended freemen could not marry without purchasing permission; they could not, in failure of children inhabiting the fief, dispose of their goods, either by will or by deed, their lord being their heir; they were oppressed by harassing and humiliating duties, and by ruinous contributions; and were continually exposed to some fine or arbitrary tax, or to the entire confiscation of their property. This tyranny drove the richer freemen into towns, where they hoped to enjoy the protection of the laws; but the counts, having converted their hereditary governments into sovereign principalities, exercised upon the inhabitants of towns oppressions similar to those, which the other lords inflicted upon the inhabitants of the country.

The advancement of Hugh Capet to the throne extended and enforced the subordination of the feudal duties, which had been acknowledged only by lords of an inferior class. Other causes co-operated with the power, which the new king personally possessed. The wars waged between superiors and their vassals were terminated by treaties, which, however violated, must yet have served to establish some kind of adjustment of their mutual pretensions: and articles of agreement, adopted successively in different contests, began to be considered as founded upon principles of general obligation. The new enfeoffments, which the lords found necessary to their power, contributed still more directly to ascertain and enforce the duties of a vassal. When they could not any longer bestow grants of lands, they conferred, as a fief, every post or profit in their disposal, and even gave pensions, on the condition of feudal services; and these new fiefs, being bestowed by special contracts, in which the obligations imposed were clearly and unequivocally expressed, the emoluments also being of such a nature, that it was easy to withdraw them from negligent or refractory vassals, the duties, which they created, were discharged with attention and punctuality. Such examples would necessarily influence the fiefs of an older origin, and different nature, the French forgetting that there was any difference between them and the others, and the duties of the new enfeoffments gradually becoming the general usage of the feudal government. The very irregularity, indeed, of the feudal system of France occasioned a more attentive observance of reciprocal duties than we might expect to discover. Every lord, except those of the lowest order, was at once a superior and a vassal; and it was not unusual, that the occupier of a fief should swear fidelity to the same person, from whom he himself received a similar oath in right of some other benefice. The Capetian kings themselves held various fiefs in the lordships of their vassals, for which they performed homage, and were bound to feudal services. These reciprocal connexions necessarily induced sentiments of equal right, which might not otherwise have been entertained, and a more reasonable system of jurisprudence, than could otherwise have been formed.

This irregular and unsettled government was maintained by four causes: 1. the absolute authority exercised by the lords over the persons and properties of the mass of the people; 2. the independence of the feudal judicatures of the nobles; 3. the right of waging war; and 4. the balance formed by the territorial power of the principal lords.

The first of these four supports of the feudal government was destroyed in the twelfth century, partly by the incorporation of towns, partly by the prevailing practice of enfranchising slaves. The mutual depredations of the lords having become a sort of signioral right, all parties were at length exhausted by private wars, and indiscriminate plunder seemed to be the only practicable means of reparation. In this situation of the country, Louis *the gross*, who ascended the throne in the year 1108, being hindered by a multiplicity of affairs from affording adequate protection to his demesnes, which were not more respected than those of other lords, determined to enable his followers to protect themselves, and with this view instituted communities, or civil corporations. The example was eagerly imitated by the lords, who discovered, in the sale of corporate privileges, an easy method of recruiting their wasted finances; and many towns ventured to assume the exercise of corporate powers, without waiting for the authority of charters, soon proceeding to plead prescription against the claim of their superiors. As the authority of the feudal lords was destroyed in the towns by the institution of civil corporations, it was reduced in the country by the enfranchisement of slaves. The clergy were zealous in recommending the manumission of slaves, as a most charitable and meritorious action; and, accordingly, it became, in the twelfth century, a custom in France to enfranchise by will a certain number of slaves[46], proportioned to the quality of the testator. No public ordinance, however, was issued there for this purpose before that of Louis X., issued in the year 1315, for the general enfranchisement of the slaves of the royal demesnes.

These causes of the reduction of the power of the lords were assisted by the increase of authority of the crown. The kings, solicited by some of the incorporated communities to protect them against the violences of the lords, granted the same protection unsolicited to others, and at length proceeded to the claim of comprehending under their authority any individuals, to whom letters of protection had been issued.

The right of judicature, exercised by the lords over their vassals, was undermined principally by the influence of the clergy. In the ignorance and barbarism of the time, their tribunals assumed the cognisance of every transaction in society: of all accusations relating to faith, marriage, sacrilege, simony, sorcery, concubinage, and usury; of all legal proceedings involving widows, orphans, or clerks, the last denomination including all the inferior servants of the church; of all questions respecting wills, as the last acts of those who had undergone the judgment of heaven; of all concerns of pilgrims and crusaders, as placed under the special protection of the church; of every transaction of a sinful nature, and all injustice was sinful; and, lastly, of all cases of perjury, and, consequently, of every obligation sanctioned by an oath.

The change, begun by the encroachments of clerical jurisdiction, was completed by the extension of the authority of the crown; and, if the ecclesiastical had not been repressed by the royal authority, it would have tended to transfer the sovereignty of France to the Roman pontiff.

[46] Abrégé Chron. par Mezeray, tome iii. p. 319.

At the commencement of the Capetian dynasty, the French clergy were treated by the court of Rome as the mere delegates of its sovereign dominion. The violent contentions however, in which that court was soon after engaged with the German empire, compelled the popes to observe a considerable degree of moderation in regard to the government of France; the clergy of that country, on the other hand, judged it expedient to seek protection from the crown against the papal exactions; and at length the pontiffs, being necessitated to place themselves under the same protection[47], united themselves with the French kings, and even granted them permission to levy the tenths of the property of the clergy. This body thus became subject to two masters, between whom it had vainly endeavoured to maintain a balance of power; and the judicial authority of the clergy, when it had performed the useful duty of superseding the jurisdiction of the feudal judicatures, yielded in its turn to the ascendency of the lawyers of the parliament.

At the end of the second race, and under the earlier princes of the third, there was no general legislative assembly; but those lords, who had any common concerns, held congresses, named parliaments, at which they invited their neighbours and friends to assist. These congresses, however, did not properly become a part of the political constitution of France, until, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, they became confounded with the king's court of justice, to which the name parliament began at that time to be applied. The opportunity of meeting for the purpose of administering justice was taken for assembling the congresses of the nobles, and the name of these occasional meetings began to be appropriated exclusively to the court of justice, as a more regular and solemn assembly. The congresses of the nobles, being gradually identified with the court of the king, ceased to have any purpose of political regulation in the latter part of the reign of Louis IX., from which time they served only to add authority to the decisions of the tribunal of the sovereign.

---

[47] In the twelfth century five popes sheltered themselves in France: Pascal II. in the year 1106, Gelasius IV. in the year 1118, Innocent II. in the year 1130, Eugenius in the year 1147, and Alexander III. in the year 1161; and, besides these, Calixtus II. resided in that country some time after his election, which had been made at Clugny, in the year 1119.—Abrégé Chron. par Mezeray, tome iii. p. 248. In the fourteenth century the papal residence was established, during seventy years, at Avignon.

The right of waging war was first shaken by the influence of religion, and afterwards by the establishment of civil corporations. So early as in the year 990[48], an attempt was made by several bishops in the south of France to set some limits to the violence and frequency of private wars, and a council was assembled four years afterwards, at Limoges, for the same purpose. Other councils also issued their decrees against the practice; but it could be checked only by the authority of a writing, which, in the year 1032, a bishop of Aquitaine pretended to have received from an angel, enjoining a suspension of hostilities for the next seven years, and in subsequent times the observance of *the truce of God*, or an interruption of warfare during the seasons set apart for celebrating the greater festivals of the church, and in each week between the evening of Thursday and the morning of the ensuing Monday. If the clergy, in devising this salutary imposture, were influenced by a wordly desire of protecting their lands, this at least proves the advantage of their temporal aggrandisement, which, in a period of disorder and violence, interested in the public welfare a numerous body of men, whose principles and habits were most favourable to peace. The incorporated towns, on the other hand, occupied in manufactures and commerce, were not less interested in the preservation of the public peace, and their forces were consequently employed in protecting industry, and in maintaining the security of the roads. The barons, too, especially those of an inferior order, no longer finding defenceless towns, which it was easy to plunder, were deprived of the inducements to hostility, presented by the hope of pillage. It is accordingly probable that it was this change of circumstances, which caused the possessors of the inferior fiefs, instead of resorting to violence on the denial of justice, to adopt the practice of appealing to a paramount lord, in which they were followed by those who wished to degrade the jurisdiction of their immediate superiors, until at length, in the reign of Louis VIII., which was begun in the year 1223, it became the general custom of the kingdom.

---

[48] Robertson's Charles V., vol. i. note 21.

The augmentation of the royal power was in this case, as in the preceding, most efficacious in repressing the licentiousness of the feudal system. Louis IX. laboured to abolish private war, with all the zeal which religion and the love of order could inspire. He was, however, forced to content himself with requiring, that forty days should be suffered to elapse, before satisfaction for an injury should be sought. Philip *the fair* was able to proceed further, as the royal authority was, in his time, more considerable. In the year 1296, at the request of the bishops and barons of Languedoc, he enjoined that private wars should not, in that part of the kingdom, be waged on any account whatsoever. The northern provinces were, however, less peaceably disposed, and, accordingly, when the states general, in the year 1356, solicited the king to issue a general ordinance on this subject, they confined themselves to the duration of the public war, in which the nation was at that time engaged.

The balance formed by the power of the principal fiefs received a shock by the advancement of Hugh Capet to the throne, not merely on account of the power, which he possessed in right of his hereditary lordships, but yet more on account of the connexion formed between these lordships and the royal court. According to the principles of the feudal government, the court of the king should have been composed only of the great vassals, who held immediately of the crown; but Hugh Capet was also duke of France, (or of the Isle of France,) and count of Paris and Orleans, and the very different orders of vassals, who held of him under these very different titles, were gradually confounded by his successors, and admitted indiscriminately to the royal court. The pride of the genuine vassals of the court induced them to withhold an attendance, which they then considered as degrading, whereby they left the exclusive direction of the royal measures to men naturally impelled to humble their superiority, while themselves renounced the opportunities of meeting together, and conferring on their common interests. The influence of this change of the royal council was also powerfully assisted by the successes, which Philip Augustus gained over the king of England, whom Mably has happily denominated the tribune of the fiefs of France. After these successes, there was no longer a balance of strength between the king and each of his great vassals, though, by their union, they might still be formidable. Philip too, being rich, was able to maintain in his service a body of regular forces, which gave him a great advantage over the feudal chieftains. His reign accordingly announced an approaching revolution, though the time of its arrival was yet distant.

When Philip *the fair* convened the states general, the foundations of the feudal government were already destroyed. The four great fiefs of Burgundy, Aquitaine, Flanders, and Brittany, still continued to exist, but the feudal independence had been suppressed in all the other parts of the kingdom, and the four supports, by which the system had been maintained, were all overthrown.

In the minority of Louis IX. the religious dissensions of the south-eastern provinces of France, were terminated by the formal establishment of the court of Inquisition, effected in the year 1233. These provinces had in the preceding century been agitated by various sectaries, who had separated themselves from the church of Rome. The pope accordingly sent into them his legates in the year 1206, and after a long course of extreme severities constituted this dread tribunal, which, that it might be independent even of the bishops, he committed to the charge of the Dominican friars. To crush the rising spirit of reform the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue had been before most strictly prohibited by a council assembled at Toulouse in the year 1229. In this manner was cemented the connexion formed with the papacy by the earlier sovereigns of France.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the history of northern Italy from the reduction of the Lombards, in the year 774, to the commencement of the permanent connexion of the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy with the crown of Germany, in the year 962.

Imperial dignity of the west restored for Charlemagne, in the year 800—Sicily invaded by the Saracens, 827—Italy, about 833—Sicily conquered by them, 851—Italy separated from France, 888—The imperial dignity transferred to an Italian Prince, 891—The Hungarians begin to invade Italy, 900—The imperial dignity suspended from 924—transferred permanently to Germany, in the person of Otho I., 962.

The Lombards, it has been already remarked, did not, like their predecessors the Ostrogoths, acquire the entire possession of Italy, the divisions, which, at a very early period of their establishment in that country, distracted their government, having embarrassed and restrained the progress of their arms. The Grecian emperors, accordingly, preserved a sort of sovereignty over various districts of Italy, to different periods, and, in some of them, to times subsequent to the suppression of the Lombard kingdom: over the exarchate of Ravenna, to the year 752, when it was conquered by the Lombards; over the duchy of Rome, to the year 800, when a new western empire was created by the pontiff; and over certain of the southern provinces even to the year 1139, when they were reduced by the Norman king of Sicily. The Lombards indeed, even before they acquired the exarchate, and though they never became masters of the Roman duchy, extended their conquests towards the south, and established themselves in the great duchy of Benevento, which comprehended nine of the twelve provinces[1] afterwards included in the kingdom of Naples. This dukedom was, however, too powerful, and also too distant from Pavia, the Lombard capital, to be retained in much subordination by the Lombard monarchy; it therefore formed a distinct principality, acknowledging a nominal dependence upon the crown, but acting a separate part in the political combinations of Italy.

---

[1] Terra di Lavoro, the Contado di Molise, the Hither Abruzzo, Capitanata, Terra di Bari, Basilicata, the Hither Calabria, and both the principalities.—Giannone, lib. vi. cap. i.

Before the Lombards were subdued by Charlemagne, three of their thirty-six dukes had raised themselves to a superior and commanding importance, those of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento. Many of the original dukedoms had been suffered to become extinct[2], as it was the natural policy of the kings to desire the suppression of the rivals of their authority; but the peculiar importance of the situations of these three rendered their preservation and aggrandisement indispensable to the security of the kingdom, that of Friuli guarding the entrance into Italy, that of Spoleto being conveniently situated in the centre for resisting the Greek garrison of Ravenna and the people of Rome, and that of Benevento being, in the like manner, commodiously posted for observing the southern provinces. Of these three great dukedoms, that of Friuli was soon vanquished by Charlemagne; that of Spoleto, awed by his successes, was induced to submit to his authority; but that of Benevento was sufficiently strong to oppose an effectual resistance to his power. The Italian dominion of Charlemagne, accordingly, included none of those countries[3], of which the kingdom of Naples was afterwards composed. Of those countries, which it did include, he confirmed to the papal see the donation formerly made by his father Pepin[4], but never fully executed, comprehending the exarchate of Ravenna and the pentapolis. Over these and the duchy of Rome he retained a right of sovereignty; but the other provinces he reduced more immediately under his own authority, giving to them the name of the kingdom of Italy.

In the government of this kingdom Charlemagne introduced an important innovation. The legislative assemblies of the Lombards had been composed only of the barons[5]; but Charlemagne, agreeably to the practice already established in France, convened the bishops and abbots with the barons, and thereby instituted another order of legislators. We shall shortly perceive that this policy, so naturally suggested to the conqueror, not only by the practice of his own country, but also by his new connexion with the papal see, was an efficient principle of the revolution, by which the towns of Italy were afterwards rendered independent of their noble masters.

---

[2] Giannone, lib. iv. cap. ii. [3] Ibid., lib. v. cap. iv. [4] Sismondi has remarked, that, though the donations of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the *debonnaire*, were never executed, these very princes enriched the see of Rome with the possession and profits of a part of the exarchate and of the pentapolis, so that the pope became the first and most powerful baron of Rome.—Hist. des Républiques Italiennes, tome i. pp. 135, 136.

Of all the revolutions of Italy, that which suppressed the Lombards, says Denina[6] was the least turbulent and bloody, no nation having ever been more rapidly overpowered. Their own divisions and the cabals of the pope, had paralysed their strength, and a single campaign placed Charlemagne on their throne. Every thing passed, says this writer, as if the Lombard succession had been quietly transmitted to another sovereign of the same nation. And yet, easy and sudden as was the transition of the Italian kingdom from its former to its new government, it constituted the grand crisis of the relation, which was not long afterwards formed between the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities of the west. The attachment of the Roman pontiff became, from that time, important to the interests of the sovereign of France, and the former reciprocally sought to conciliate the latter, by restoring, in his favour, the dignity of western emperor. That dignity was not originally placed in the position, in which it became opposed to the papacy. The French government was not that, on which the papacy could try its strength with advantage, but it served to give a beginning to an arrangement, which, when transferred to Germany, produced important results, that country being, by its lax and feeble combination, best fitted to feel the whole violence of the papal power.

When Ravenna had become the residence of the Grecian exarchs[7], its bishops endeavoured to withdraw themselves from the papal authority, pleading the dignity of the new capital of the west, as the bishops of Constantinople asserted the independence of the metropolis of the eastern empire. In the very year however preceding that, in which Pepin was invited into Italy by the Roman pontiff, Ravenna, notwithstanding the strength of situation[8], for which it had been selected, fell, at last, under the dominion of the Lombards ; but, during the brief remainder of their power, it continued to be a distinct territory. The French king, therefore, though, in his new character of patrician of Rome[9], he professed to be subordinate to the Greek emperor, had a right to consider the territory of Ravenna as devoted to himself by conquest, and, consequently, placed at his disposal, to be transferred to the papacy, so far as might be consistent with the plans of his policy. The establishment then of this latter capital of the west, instead of raising up a rival prelate, who should supplant the bishop of the ancient metropolis, but prepared the original means of his secular aggrandisement.

---

[5] Giannone, lib. vi., introd.

[6] Révolutions d'Italie, tome ii. pp. 326, 327.

[7] The emperor Honorius had fixed his residence at Ravenna, in the year 404, which example had been followed by the Gothic kings of Italy. The exarchate of Ravenna was begun by Narses, in the year 554, after the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom.

The restoration of the imperial dignity of the west was a natural result of the decline of the Greek empire, and of the exposed situation of the papacy. Such was the weakness of the eastern empire in the time of Pepin, that its sovereign declared himself unable to protect the pontiff[10], and directed him to seek the assistance of the French king. The more effectual aid of Charlemagne wholly removed the danger by overthrowing the power of the Lombards ; but so much reverence was still entertained for the court of Constantinople, that even this prince was contented to act as patrician, or lieutenant of the empire. An occasion however alone was wanted for placing the new protector of Rome in that ostensible independence, which belonged to the real greatness of his power ; and such an occasion was furnished by an insurrection of the Romans, in which the pontiff, Leo III., had fallen into the hands of his enemies. In this emergency the pontiff felt, that it was necessary to his personal safety to attach more strongly to his interest the great monarch of the west; the unprecedented situation of the eastern empire, then governed by a female, Irene the widow of the late emperor, had also destroyed among the people of Rome the last habits of submission to the court of Constantinople; and it was moreover an important augmentation of the power of the papacy to assume the right of creating an emperor of the west, which too would make preparation for claiming, at a future time, some superiority even over his sovereign dignity. The imperial dignity was accordingly restored in the year 800, when three hundred and twenty-four years had elapsed since the removal of Augustulus. In this manner was concluded an arrangement, by which the French monarch acquired no new power, for he was already the actual sovereign, but by which was established a most important relation between the papacy and the great western monarchy. For a name a powerful sovereign[11] consented to receive from the pontiff an investiture of the power, which he already possessed, and thus unconsciously provided the subject of the future struggle of the papal and imperial authority.

---

[8] The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass, and Ravenna was connected with the continent by an artificial causeway.—Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iii. p. 190.

[9] The Romans continued to date the acts of their government by the years of the reigns of the Grecian emperors, until Charlemagne received the imperial crown.—Abrége Chron. de l'Hist. d'Italie, tom. i. p. 382.

[10] Ibid. tome i. p. 349.

The government of France, however, except during the decay of the family of Charlemagne, was too compact and strong to be much affected by the power of the pontiffs; as on the other hand, if it could not have been affected by their power, it would have been too weak to be the central government of the European system. A different and a less closely compacted government was therefore to experience the influence, which the imperial dignity should convey from the papal see; and the decay of the Carlovingian dynasty, by detaching that dignity from the government, which alone had been adequate to its restoration, furnished the favourable opportunity of transferring it to this other, upon which it might be productive of important effects.

---

[11] It was thought politic, or decent, that he should appear to have been taken by surprise, that less offence might be given to the imperial court of Constantinople, and therefore Eginhard was directed to publish the story. But that he had aspired anxiously to this dignity appears plainly from his practice of prefixing to his grants of favour to churches, made during the life of the predecessor of Leo III., an expression of his hope, that he might thus be raised au comble de la puissance imperiale.—Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. d'Italie, tome i. p. 444.

The whole period of one hundred and sixty-two years, which intervened between the restoration of the western empire and the commencement of the permanent connexion of the imperial dignity with the German crown, may be distinguished into two parts, that dignity having been held by a series of French princes during eighty-eight years, and being afterwards held successively by two Italians, though of the remaining seventy-four, the concluding thirty-eight, or more than the half, constituted one long interval of suspension. The year 888, in which Charles *the fat* of France was deposed, became the epoch of the separation of Italy, as of Germany, from the trunk of the empire of Charlemagne.

Of the French emperors, there was one, Louis II., who possessed no other dominions than those which belonged to the dignities of emperor and king of Italy; and it is observable that a resident and active sovereign was in his time indispensable to the protection of the peninsula. In the contentions, by which the southern region of that country was agitated, the Saracens, who from Africa[12] had established themselves in Sicily, and on the coast of Italy, were invited to the assistance of the one party[13], while those of Spain were opposed to them by the other. When these fierce invaders had been thus introduced into the country, the valour and activity of Louis II. were employed with advantage in restraining their progress, which might else have extended over Italy, and have destroyed the very germ of the policy of Europe. The reign of this prince was also most favourable to the improvement of that northern portion of Italy, which was subject to his authority. All prospered, says Denina[14], from the banks of the Tiber to the Alps, nor was any part of Europe more peaceable, or better governed, than Lombardy. The same writer[15] has also remarked, that the personal character of Louis, and that of his queen Angilberge, to whom he confided much of his authority, formed a combination auspicious to the prosperity of his reign, the haughty and imperious disposition of the empress serving to correct the influence of the too mild and easy disposition of her husband, and thereby maintaining the majesty of the throne, and infusing vigour into the government.

---

[12] The Saracens of Africa began the conquest of Sicily in the year 827, and completed it in the year 851.—Sismondi, tome i. p. 35. They began from Sicily to infest the coast of Italy in the year 833, and availing themselves of a war between the princes of Benevento and Salerno, established themselves in Calabria in the year 839.—Ibid., p. 36. Abrégé Chron., tome i. p. 483. The Saracens of Spain, about the beginning of the following century, established themselves in a place at the base of the Alps, named Freinet, on the coast of Provence, from which they harrassed the northern regions of Italy, beginning their incursions in the year 906. Hugh, king of Italy, overpowered them, and in the year 942, distributed them through the mountains separating Germany from Italy, that they might hinder Berenger, his competitor for the throne, from bringing German troops against him. They continued their ravages from their new station.—Abrégé Chron., ibid., et tome ii. pp. 500, 654, 702. These, having returned to Freinet, were exterminated by the count of Provence, in the year 972. The Saracens of southern Italy and Sicily were overpowered by the Normans in the following century.—Ibid., tome ii. pp. 848, 850.

This emperor and the two preceding had followed their great ancestor, Charlemagne, in the regular succession of hereditary right, and the interposition of the pope in their elections had accordingly been confined to a mere ceremonial; but, as Louis II. left no male issue, the imperial dignity, with the kingdom of Italy, became the subject of a competition, in which he had an opportunity of assuming and exercising some authority. The two claimants were Charles *the bald* of France and his brother Louis of Germany. The former, as being the elder, had the preferable claim; but so strong was the adverse party, the pretension of Louis being supported by the widow of the late emperor, and recommended by his own superior qualities, that he became indebted for his succession to the favour of the Roman see. To the pontiff the king of France must have appeared a less dangerous sovereign than the king of Germany. The dominions of Louis, extending to the coasts of the Adriatic[16], formed a dangerous vicinage to

---

[13] Giannone, lib. vii. introd. sez. 1. [14] Révol. d'Italie, tome ii. p. 407. [15] Ibid., p. 406. [16] Ibid., p. 399, &c. St. Marc, however, ascribes to the influence of money the interposition of the pontiff.—Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 558.

Italy, while those of Charles were remote, and separated from it by a mountainous region: Louis also had become connected with the Grecian emperor, the eternal enemy of the Roman pontiff, being naturally led to this alliance by their common hostility to the Slavian nations of the north; and the very strength of the party, which supported this prince, must have contributed to determine the pope to interest himself in favour of his competitor, who would feel that his success was the result of that interposition.

The succession of Charles *the bald*, who became emperor in the year 875, was thus an important epoch in the history of the imperial dignity, as the competition occasioned by the failure of male issue in the family of Louis II., afforded the first favourable opportunity for the encroachments of the Italians. The example of the pontiff was imitated by the bishops and lords of Lombardy, in formally electing Charles to be king of Italy. The pontiff[17], to maintain his pretension to the right of choosing the emperor, began, at this time, the practice of numbering the years of the reigns of those princes from the days on which they received the papal consecration. Four Italian dukes also, those of Spoleto, Friuli, Lombardy, and Tuscany, availed themselves of the opportunity to become more independent, and a few years afterwards two of them aspired to the empire.

Thirteen years elapsed from the advancement of Charles *the bald* to the commencement of the time, in which Italian princes aspired to the throne of the empire, a period of weakness and decay, in which the imperial dignity was escaping from the grasp of its earlier possessors. Short as that interval was, it comprehended the reigns of two emperors, Charles *the bald* and his nephew Charles *the fat*, together with an interregnum of about three years. Charles *the bald*, entirely occupied in endeavouring to usurp what he could of the succession of his brother, Louis of Germany, gave little attention to the duties of his Italian crowns, and dying at the end of two years, left the empire to be the subject of a new contention. The imperial dignity then remained vacant about three years, and was afterwards feebly held during seven by Charles *the fat*.

---

[17] Giannone, lib. vii. cap. 1.

The latter, driven from his throne by his nephew Arnold[18], and reduced to the humiliation of soliciting from the usurper the means of his subsistence, expired with the name, but without the power, of an emperor.

The government of the French emperors, which was then brought to its termination, had been generally very favourable to the interests of northern Italy. All that part, which constituted the kingdom of Italy[19], and indeed all that was situated between the Tiber and the Alps, enjoyed the blessings of uninterrupted tranquillity. Its local situation was specially advantageous. The kingdoms of France and Germany, on the one side, and on the other the territories possessed by the Greeks and Lombards, which afterwards composed the kingdom of Naples, served as bulwarks to defend that interesting region from the incursions of the Normans, Slavians, and Saracens, who, in the ninth century, spread desolation through the west. But though the northern region of Italy enjoyed this extraordinary tranquillity, it is remarkable that the military spirit, which had been revived among the Italians, under the government of the Lombards[20], was afterwards yet more strongly excited by the French, who led them into other countries. Charlemagne led them against the Saracens of Spain, and in the celebrated battle of Fontenay, fought in the year 841 by the emperor Lothaire, against his two brothers, Charles *the bald* and Louis of Bavaria, a loss of forty thousand men was sustained by Lothaire, whose army was principally composed of the troops of Lombardy. Nor was the literature of Italy neglected by this government of foreign princes, since we find an edict of the year 829, particularising nine cities[21], in which schools should be established.

In the southern region of Italy, a revolution occurred within this period, which appears to have had an interesting relation to the affairs of the northern part of that country. The great principality of Benevento, which had been strong enough to check the progress of the French[22],

[18] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 596. [19] Révol. d'Italie, tome ii. pp. 429, 430. [20] Ibid., p. 439—441. [21] The nine cities were Pavia, Ivree, Turin, Cremona, Florence, Fermo, Verona, Vicenza, and Cividal-di-Friuli.—Abrégé Chron., tome i. p. 475. [22] Charlemagne, indeed, in the year 787, reduced the prince of Benevento to

was dismembered in the year 851, Salerno being then detached from it, and formed into a separate government. Speaking of this dismemberment, Denina has observed[23], that if the principality of Benevento had remained unimpaired, it would have served Italy as a point of support, resting on which that government might have withstood its enemies, and maintained its prosperity. In this view the dismemberment of that great duchy may be regarded as a calamity; but, in a larger consideration of policy, it may, perhaps, appear a part of a beneficial combination. To the several destinations of Italy, all so important to the formation and improvement of the European system, it seems to have been indispensable, that no secular principality should acquire a predominant sway in that country, for it would have overwhelmed the independence of the papacy, and would, at the same time, have crushed all the principles of activity, political, commercial, and literary, which were afterwards cherished in the Italian republics. The great power of the principality of Benevento had balanced, during seventy-seven years, the ascendency acquired by the royal family of France in northern Italy; and, though the vigour of the French government of northern Italy continued to subsist twenty-four years after the dismemberment of Benevento, the exception serves to illustrate the importance of its preceding power, since in that interval the emperor Louis II.[24] had nearly succeeded in possessing himself of the whole country. Nor was this temporary disturbance of the balance of Italy without its utility, since it appears to have allowed to Louis, the first resident emperor, a favourable opportunity for opposing a sufficient resistance to the Saracens, who had invaded the southern provinces. Two years after the attempt of Louis, Charles *the bald* became emperor, from which event the decline of the French princes commenced; and, if Benevento had

acknowledge himself his vassal; but the submission was slight, and in the year 812, it was found necessary to enter into a similar stipulation.—Ibid., p. 412—459. In the year 873, the principality, from which Salerno and Capua had been detached, submitted itself to the Greek empire, and ceased to have any connexion with the kingdom of Italy.—Ibid., tome ii. p. 544.

[23] Révol. d'Italie, tome ii. p. 387.

[24] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 554.

been at that time powerful, it would itself have preponderated in the political balance.

Charles *the fat* concluded the series of French emperors. He had been deposed by his transalpine subjects for notorious incapacity; but the Italians[25], not having been concerned in this transaction, continued to consider him as their emperor, probably, indeed, not being solicitous to see much energy displayed by their sovereign. There was then no legitimate descendant of Charlemagne, by the male line, except Charles *the simple*, who had been a second time excluded from the succession under the pretence of his youth, Arnold, the illegitimate nephew of Charlemagne, having been chosen as their sovereign by the Germans, while the French elected Eudes, count of Paris. The Italians availed themselves of the opportunity thus presented for bringing the imperial dignity home to their own country, and, after a domestic struggle of three years, Guy duke of Spoleto was invested with it by the pope, Berenger duke of Friuli being king of Italy. And here, says Muratori[26], began a period, in which innumerable calamities deluged Germany and France, but more especially Italy, the northern provinces of which had hitherto enjoyed an enviable peace. In the last-mentioned country, he adds, ignorance and barbarism continually increased; a general corruption of manners prevailed, not only among the laity, but also among the ecclesiastics; the age became an age of iron, and the country a public market of vices and calamities. It was, indeed, a period of much barbarism and misery, because it was one of those eventful periods of the history of mankind, in which present happiness is sacrificed to remote, but important advantages.

The great duchy of Benevento having been reduced by the dismemberment of Salerno and Capua, there remained only three princes of Italy, who enjoyed a distinguished superiority. These were Berenger duke of Friuli, Guy duke of Spoleto, and Adelbert duke, or marquess, of Tuscany, of whom Berenger and Guy were by females descended from Charlemagne. Adelbert being contented to remain master of Tuscany, and to favour the efforts of the others

[25] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 600.

[26] Annali d'Italia, tome v. pp. 179, 180. Monaco, 1762, &c.

for rescuing Italy from the dominion of foreigners, Guy and Berenger formed an agreement, by which it was determined between them, that the latter should be created king of Italy, and that he should cede to the former his preferable pretension to the crown of France. Berenger was, accordingly, elected king of Italy, though not appointed emperor; but Guy, having been forced to abandon his pretension to the French crown, returned to Italy, and, unable to acquiesce in his former station, determined to contest with Berenger the dominion of northern Italy. Berenger, alarmed at this competition, sought to strengthen himself by submitting to Arnold of Germany, and consenting to hold the kingdom of Italy as his vassal. Guy, on the other hand, had the support of the pope, and, having assembled some bishops, caused himself also to be elected king, so that there were two kings of Italy, the one a vassal of the king of Germany, the other the creature of the Roman pontiff.

It is, accordingly, to the year 889 that Saint Marc[27] has referred the commencement of the great division of the Ghibelins and Guelfs, the former of whom were attached to the interest of the German emperors, the latter to that of the see of Rome, though these appellations were not adopted until near the middle of the twelfth century, when they were borrowed from the parties which divided the Germans. The struggle of Italian parties, which was thus begun, shall hereafter be shown to have been the original principle of independence to the numerous republics of Italy, which was productive of effects the most beneficial to the system of Europe, animating the enterprise of commerce, arousing the dormant spirit of literature, and prompting the first efforts for arranging the combinations of political equilibrium.

In this contention for the crown of Italy there was yet no consideration of the imperial dignity, which remained unoccupied. The Italian kingdom had been wholly distinct in its origin, having been founded by the Lombards before the restoration of the western empire. When the imperial dignity was restored for Charlemagne, the two sovereignties became united, though with distinct authorities, the imperial crown bestowing the sovereignty of the papal dominions, and that of Italy the sovereignty of the Lombard kingdom. In the year 877 these dignities were separated, Carloman of Germany being elected king of Italy, while the imperial dignity continued vacant, on account of the opposition of the pope; nor were they re-united until the year 881, when Charles *the fat*, who already possessed the kingdom of Italy, received the crown of the empire. The deposition of this prince was followed by the contention, which has been just described.

---

[27] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. pp. 610, 612.

Guy, who, in the year 889, had been elected king of Italy by the influence of the pope, was, in the year 891, created emperor. Berenger, however, continued to hold possession of the kingdom, which was not united to the empire until the year 916[28], when he was himself advanced to the imperial dignity. The death of Berenger, who was assassinated in the year 924, was followed by a suspension of the imperial dignity, continued during the long period of thirty-eight years, at the end of which it was restored in favour of Otho, king of Germany. The kingdom of Italy, however, had, two years before the death of Berenger, been wrested from him by a conspiracy, and continued to exist without interruption.

In these agitations, the general policy of the Roman see had been to prefer a distant to a neighbouring emperor[29], and to endeavour to suppress altogether a sovereignty, which began to be found inconvenient to its growing independence. It was on a former principle that a French emperor had been preferred to a German, and then a German was thought more eligible than an Italian; the latter was reduced to practice in the long suspension, in which the imperial dignity seemed to have been wholly abrogated. When the calamities of Italy in general, and of Rome in particular, rendered it at length necessary to submit to a sovereign capable of maintaining tranquillity, recourse was

[28] With Guy was, in the year 892, associated in the imperial dignity his son Lambert, who succeeded him. With Lambert was, in the year 896, associated Arnold of Germany, who, at the death of Lambert, in the year 898, remained sole emperor. Arnold died in the same year, and was succeeded by Louis of Bergundy in the year 901. Berenger succeeded in the year 916.

[29] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. pp. 628, 660.

had to the former principle of preferring the distant authority.

The earlier half of the tenth century was the period of the agony of the fortunes of Italy. A new and barbarous enemy disturbed the tranquillity of that northern region of the peninsula, which had been guarded successively by the Goths, the Lombards, and the French. In the year 900[30], began the ravages of the Hungarians, whose incursions were frequently repeated from that time to the year 947, in the middle of which interval they even took and burned Pavia[31], the capital of the kingdom. The influence of these ravages in developing the energies of Italy, has, however, been pointed out by the historian of the Italian republics[32], who has remarked that they created a necessity for surrounding the cities with walls, which, while they protected them against the barbarians, enabled them also to withstand the power of their own nobles.

If any moderate degree of tranquillity could have been maintained at this time in northern Italy, the great principalities would have stifled the republican energies of that interesting country, and would, probably, have given being to a domestic sovereignty, irreconcileable to the independence of the papacy. If, on the other hand, in a period of so great calamity, the see of Rome had been governed with as much ability, as when the foundations of its greatness were laid by Gregory and Leo, that see perhaps would itself have become the temporal sovereignty of Italy, and its ecclesiastical would have been merged in its political character. So desirous were the pontiffs of avoiding the control of a superior, that, during almost thirty-nine years, they suffered the imperial dignity to continue vacant; nor was it at length bestowed upon the German sovereign, until his protection had become indispensable to the safety of the papacy. The character, however, of the pontiffs of this unhappy period secured them from any such consequence of successful ambition. Even the historians of their own church describe them as monsters , rather than men, and represent the see of Rome itself as the spoil of profligate women, who disposed of it at their pleasure.

---

[30] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 644—675.

[31] Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, tome i. p. 99.

[32] Sismondi, tome i. p. 89. Permission was granted by Berenger, king of Italy, in the year 909.—Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 656.

[33] Mosheim, cent. x. part ii. ch. ii.

The development of the energies of Italy, and of the system of Europe, was, after the long suspension of the imperial dignity, essentially assisted by its restoration in favour of Otho I., the sovereign of Germany, in connexion with a grant of the crown of the Italian kingdom. To this measure the Italians could not have been reconciled, if it had not been practically proved, that their own jealousies and competitions would not permit the existence of a domestic government. That experiment, however, having failed, and the protection of a foreign prince having become necessary, they were contented to purchase protection by a double submission to the German sovereign, as chief of the empire, and as king of Italy. A special combination of favourable circumstances had facilitated this important revolution.

Adelaide[34], the youthful widow of Lothaire II. a king of Italy, was, by her riches, an object of interested courtship, as, by her beauty and her virtues, she was well qualified for attracting popular regard. Berenger II., by whom her husband had been succeded, was, probably, desirous of procuring for his son an alliance so desirable, but disappointed by the refusal of the queen to connect herself with the son of a man, suspected of having made room for his own advancement by causing the death of her consort. In this manner has been explained the brutal violence of Berenger, who plundered Adelaide of her possessions, and even of her personal ornaments, treated her person with extreme barbarity, and confined her in a tower, on the border of the lake of Garda. From this prison she effected her escape, in a manner which resembles romance, rather than real history[35]; she was then protected for some time

'To a philosophic eye,' says Gibbon, vol. v. p. 155, the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues.' It is, indeed, true, that the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous to such philosophy, as he unfortunately appears to have embraced; but even genuine philosophy might conclude, that, in an ignorant and corrupted period, a series of able and exemplary pontiffs, if such could then have been advanced to the papacy, would almost necessarily have given an undue ascendency to the Roman see.

[34] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 707, &c.

[35] A priest contrived that she should

by a chieftain, who had built a strong castle on an insulated rock, and was afterwards married to Otho of Germany, who had been called to her assistance, and four years before had become a widower. These events occurred in the year 951. The German sovereign, at this time, aspired to the royal and imperial dignities of Italy, in right of this marriage, but he soon discovered, that the time was not yet arrived for the gratification of his ambition, the Roman see being then subjected by a chief[36], who did not choose to subject himself to a superior, and the intrigues of Berenger among his family compelled him to abandon the Italian kingdom, of which he had possessed himself. Berenger II., however, submitted to perform homage to Otho upon his restoration. In this situation affairs remained until the year 960, when the bishops and lords of Italy, wearied by the oppressions of Berenger, confederated with the pope, who was likewise aggrieved, not only by the continued detention of the exarchate and pentapolis, which had been usurped by his predecessor, but also by frequent incursions made into the Roman duchy. The confederates would have been satisfied with retaining the son of Berenger on the throne, if the father, with whom he had been associated, would have consented to abdicate; but this proposal was defeated by the opposition of the mother. The pope, indeed, soon repented of the advancement of Otho, and caballed with the son of Berenger for his restoration; his repentance, however, had no other effect than to procure

---

escape from her prison through a secret passage at the bottom of the tower, and then disguised herself and her attendant in male attire, after which a fishing boat conveyed the three to a forest bordering the lake, where they subsisted some time on fish, given by a fisherman to the priest, through charity. Adelaide, at length, sent the priest to communicate her condition to the bishop of Reggio, who, being unable to protect her, recommended her to a chieftain, who had built a strong castle on some land belonging to the see, which he held as a fief.

[36] That chief was Alberic, the son of the infamous Marozia, who was the mother, grandmother, and great grandmother, of three popes. The Romans, weary of her tyranny, made Alberic their sovereign, with the titles of patrician and consul, in the year 932. He remained master of Rome to the time of his death, which occurred in the year 954. His son Octavian then, though an ecclesiastic, possessed himself of the supreme power, and two years afterwards usurped the papacy.—Abrégé Chron., pp. 694, 713.

his own deposition, and thus to enable the former to assume more authority than before over the duchy of Rome, and even to assert a right of controlling by a negative the elections of the pontiffs.

Otho, it has been remarked, had become a widower a short time before he was invited to the aid of the fair widow of Italy, and was thus at liberty to form a connexion, which produced effects so important. It is also observable, that the circumstances of his government were just then, for the first time, such as permitted an effectual interference in the concerns of Italy. The German monarch had been occupied by other wars during about fifteen years of his reign, and was just then at full liberty to try his power in this tempting field of ambition, when Italy was beginning to feel the necessity of seeking his protection.

Thus was, at length, formed between Italy and Germany in the year 962 a connexion, which, in the progress of this work, shall be shown to have been the generative principle of the European system. Originally formed between Italy and France by the prevailing power of the French sovereigns, it was dissolved in the temporary decay of that government, and, after some time, formed anew with Germany, a country, by the looseness of its political combinations, better fitted to permit its natural operation. Of this combination the treaty of Westphalia, concluded in the year 1648, may be considered as the accomplishment, so that the process of its operation occupied the long interval of six hundred and eighty-six years, at the end of which the federative policy of Europe received its primary adjustment.

Among the causes of the distresses of Italy were the ravages of the Saracens, to which it was subjected from about the year 833, or about sixty-seven years before the incursions of the Hungarians. While these contributed to swell the general mass of calamity, which, in that period, overwhelmed Italy, they had a special operation in giving a military character to the ecclesiastical sovereignty of Rome. In the year 916[37], the pontiff John II. formed a powerful confederacy to crush these infidel spoilers, who had extended their devastations even to the Roman duchy, and, in his eagerness to secure the success of the operations which he had concerted, placed himself at the head of the united forces. The expedition was so completely successful, that the enemy was said to have been wholly destroyed, and the pontiff returned to Rome, says Saint-Marc, with a glory, which is not that of the vicar of Jesus Christ. The violent opposition of the tribe of the Koreish has been mentioned as furnishing the occasion, which converted the peaceable proselytism of Mohammed into a daring enterprise of military ambition. The ravages of the Saracen invaders of Italy appear to have exercised a similar influence in changing the character of the papacy; and those celebrated expeditions, which directed against Asia the united forces of Christendom, seem thus to have been but the reactions of an impulse originally given by the fanaticism of Arabia.

---

[37] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. pp. 664, 666.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the history of northern Italy, from the commencement of the permanent connection of the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Italy with the crown of Germany, in the year 962, *to the commencement of Italian independence, by the peace of Constance, in the year* 1183.

Otho I. emperor in the year 962—Beginning of Italian independence, 1002—Insurrection of the commons of Italy, 1035—Feudal system of Italy completed, 1037—Predominance of the German emperor over the papacy, 1046—Normans of southern Italy received into vassalage by the Roman see, 1054—Gregory VII. pope, 1073—condemns investitures, 1075—deposes the emperor Henry IV., 1076—Donation of the marchioness Matilda to the see of Rome, 1077—*Concordat* of Pope Calixtus II.—Invasion of the emperor Frederic I., 1156—League of Lombardy, 1164—Peace of Constance, 1183.

The preceding chapter contained a review of the causes, which operated in forming the permanent connection of the imperial dignity and kingdom of Italy with the crown of Germany[1]; it is the purpose of the present to trace the operation of that connection on the state of northern Italy, its influence on the political interests of Germany being reserved for future consideration. The operation now to be examined will appear to have consisted, partly in favouring the independence of the numerous states of northern Italy, and partly in favouring the ambition of the Roman pontiff, each of which would have been overborne and suppressed by an Italian sovereign, but was animated and encouraged by the embarrassed and ineffectual struggles of a German emperor.

---

[1] The empire, strictly considered, comprehended, at this time, only the duchy of Rome, the exarchate having been annexed to the

It is remarkable that republican liberty, though at length carried to an extreme in the northern part of the Italian peninsula, was primarily established in its southern region, from which it appears to have been transmitted by the communications of commerce. The southern countries, favoured by their ambiguous situation on the frontier of the two empires of the east and west, and by the commercial advantages of this position, were enabled to present instances of republican government, while those of the north were yet comprehended under the Italian kingdom and the dominion of the emperor; but, on the contrary, they sunk under the ascendency of the new kingdom of Naples, just about the same time in which the imperial authority was ruined in the northern provinces, and these became divided into a multitude of free communities. Southern Italy, accordingly, displayed the example of liberty, which was imitated in the north; northern Italy however, the field of contention for the pontiff and the German monarch, was that in which the most strenuous and successful efforts of independence might be exerted. The latter region also was the part of the peninsula, in which the principles of transmitted improvement had been best protected, and could therefore be best developed by the fostering influence of freedom, as it was likewise that, from which its fruits could be most directly communicated to the western countries of Europe.

The whole of Italy had suffered so grievously from the various disorders of the period preceding the advancement of Otho to the imperial dignity, that some interval of tran-

kingdom of Italy; but, on account of the connection formed with the crown of Germany, the imperial dignity insensibly became confounded with the Italian kingdom.

quillity appears to have been necessary for enabling it to undergo new agitations. Such an interval was accordingly afforded by the vigorous government of this able prince. His authority was firmly established as far as the Tiber, in the very commencement of his imperial dignity, and was soon extended almost to the extremity of Italy[2]; and, as he survived his elevation eleven years, a sufficient time was allowed for introducing a considerable degree of order in the place of the confusion, which had so long prevailed. But the main operation of the government of Otho seems to have consisted in imposing a restraint, which excited against his successors the reaction of the Italian states, as a century afterwards, the predominant sway of the emperor Henry III. called forth the strenuous exertions of the Roman pontiff, Gregory VII. It is probable, that in any case a resistance would have been soon exerted against a foreign sovereign; but the ordinary jealousy of the Italians must have been inflamed by the experience of a vigorous and efficient exercise of the imperial power. We accordingly find, that[3] even from the death of the first of the Othos may be discovered tendencies towards the establishment of independence in northern Italy, and its actual commencement may be distinctly marked at the death of the third prince of the name, who was the second successor in his united dignities of king of Italy and emperor.

The three Othos, all brave and virtuous, exalted the name, and promoted the prosperity of their new territories. But the second of these princes was, during eight of the ten years of his reign, so occupied by the domestic disturbances of Germany, and by a war with the king of France for the sovereignty of Lorraine, that an ample opportunity was afforded for beginning those intrigues, which, after the lapse of two centuries, terminated in the independence of the states of Lombardy. Otho III. being only three years old at the death of his father, a long minority ensued most favourable to the revolutionary spirit then arising in Italy. In this interval, Cincio[4], or Crescentius, who had begun an insurrection at Rome against the papacy in the year 974, was, with the title of consul, master of that city, and held the pontiff in such subjection, that the latter urgently solicited the German monarch to come to his relief. Otho accordingly arrived in Rome in the year 996, and two years afterwards caused Crescentius to be put to death. But neither the death of this demagogue[5], nor the successive elections of two pontiffs attached to the imperial interest, could secure the tranquillity of Rome. New disturbances arose in that city, and also in others, which already were beginning to assume a republican government, insomuch that Otho was obliged to undertake a third expedition into Italy, in which he died, as is supposed, by poison, received from the widow of Crescentius. This prince, dying without issue, closed the hereditary succession of emperors, and left in the competitions of an elective throne, a yet more favourable opportunity for the progressive development of Italian politics.

---

[2] Révol. d'Italie, tome iii. p. 120—123.

[3] Sigonii de Regno Italiæ, an. 973.

[4] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 880—896.

The death of the last of the Othos, which occurred in the second year of the eleventh century, introduced an age rendered memorable, as Muratori has observed[6], by a very remarkable revolution in the government and manners of Italy, and, above all, by the great struggle between the papacy and the empire. It appears to have been the destiny of this interesting country, to furnish from its internal agitations that principle of activity, which might spread over the whole of western Europe the combination of a complicated policy, the industry of manufacturing ingenuity, the elegance of the arts of imagination, a taste for the literature of antiquity, and the ambition of emulating the classic models in a modern language. The contentions of ancient Greece had diffused over the world the first energies of philosophy, literature, and the arts; and those of modern Italy restored the intellectual and moral activity of Europe, which had been lost in degeneracy and barbarism.

While Germany was distracted by the competition of rival candidates for the throne of that country[7], left vacant by the death of Otho III., an Italian noble, Ardoino, marquess of Ivrea, caused himself to be elected king of

---

[5] Révol. d'Italie, tome iii. p. 149, &c. [6] Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. p. 1. [7] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. pp. 934, 936. Révol. d'Italie, tome iii. p. 163.

Italy. The miseries of a resident tyranny soon produced a repetition of their former effect, and a party was soon collected in support of the pretensions of the new German sovereign Henry II. The coarseness of the German manners however, proving not less offensive to the people of Italy than the more refined oppression of their countryman, the Italians, disgusted and alienated by both, were naturally impelled to seek in independence the only remaining expedient of relief. At the death of Henry, which occurred in the year 1024, that spirit of liberty, which had been fostered in the contention of the rival princes, was unequivocally manifested, so that the emperor Conrad[8], who succeeded him, found himself compelled to suffer all the states of Lombardy to wage war without consulting him, and without committing their forces to the command of any of his officers. The Roman pontiffs, always occupied in prosecuting their ancient plan of independence[9], were careful to foment all the discontents of the people.

The formation of the republics of Lombardy was immediately the result of the decay of the nobility. That order had begun to be considerable[10] when Charles *the bald* of France aspired to the Italian crown, because the kingdom then became visibly elective, and every election furnished an opportunity of extorting some new concession. When at length Lombardy became divided between two parties, each having a king at its head, the liberty of the great vassals was carried to licentiousness. It even became a maxim of Italian policy, that two kings should always be elected, for the purpose of opposing each to the other, and thereby retaining both in a state of mediocrity and weakness ; and a similar policy impelled the nobles so frequently to invite the kings of Germany to take possession of the crown, as they hoped, from the long absences of these monarchs, still more favourable occasions for enlarging and establishing their own authority. Two causes, however, operated to reduce and ruin this inordinate power.

One of these causes was a result of the very policy, by which the nobles endeavoured to maintain their authority, for the sovereigns, whom they supported, in the expectation of thereby finding an opportunity of aggrandising themselves, became lavish of the distinctions of nobility, that they might thus increase the number of their own adherents. Marquisates and counties were accordingly multiplied without end, and the territories attached to the ancient dignities were dismembered to supply new dignities for the new appointments[11]. The feudal system of Italy was, however, completed in the year 1037 by an ordinance of the emperor Conrad II.[12], which secured even to rear-vassals the possession of their fiefs, and rendered those fiefs hereditary, not only to sons, but also to grandsons and to brothers.

---

[8] Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. p. 74. [9] Abrégé Chron., tome ii. p. 1018. [10] Révol. d'Italie, tome iii., liv. ix. ch. 11.

But that, which principally worked the downfal of the great duchies and marquisates, and weakened the sovereign equally with his vassals, was the prodigious aggrandisement of the ecclesiastics[13]. Even after the failure of the French line of kings of Italy, the donations presented to the churches and monasteries were immense. Nor did these donations increase the power of the clergy merely by the general influence accompanying wealth and splendour, but also conferred a direct authority over a multitude of peasants, employed in the cultivation of the lands, which they conveyed, an authority confirmed by the privileges, which the bishops and abbots obtained of the kings. The progressive increase of these possessions was favoured by causes peculiar to the clergy, for they were not, like the fiefs of the nobles, exposed to dismemberment from the competition of rival candidates, nor were they, like them, liable to be shared among the children of the last possessors. The clergy moreover advanced by the same path to the same object. Adding continually, by this uniformity of conduct, to the respect naturally connected with their sacred functions, and to the importance inseparable from their exclusive possession of the learning of the age, the new privileges, which their greater command of money enabled them to purchase of the kings, the greater part of the bishops became at length the chief, and almost the only governors, of the cities, in the place of the counts, who before had possessed the administration. This progress was so rapid, that, in the beginning of the eleventh century, when Ardoino, an Italian, and Henry II. of Germany contended for the kingdom of Italy, the government had become properly an ecclesiastical aristocracy.

---

[11] It is true, that even in the ninth century fiefs were already hereditary, but the contrary usage prevailed under the successors of the Carlovingian emperors.—Révol. d'Italie, tome iii., liv. ix. ch. 11.

[12] It was ordained, 1. that they should not be deprived of their fiefs, except by a judgment of their peers: 2. That grandsons should succeed in failure of sons, and brothers in failure of direct heirs: 3. That the lord should not alienate a fief without the consent of the vassal. These regulations related only to the fiefs of Italy.—Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. d'Allemagne, par Pfeffel, tome i. p. 187.

[13] Révol d'Italie, tome iii. p. 175.

This great power of the clergy, however, contained within itself the principles of its own destruction[14], and, when it had been instrumental in depressing the lay nobility, necessarily yielded in its turn to the ascendency of republican government. Their aggrandisement, by detaching them from their sacred functions, enfeebled those sentiments of respect and confidence, which had given them influence and importance; and the nobles, already jealous of their usurpations, were yet more exasperated at seeing them bestowing on their relatives the various offices of their temporal jurisdiction. The people and the nobles accordingly became united against the temporal power of the bishops, which they never ceased to attack, to dismember, and to weaken, and which, in more than one instance, they wholly annihilated.

The decisive impulse of this republican revolution was given by the papacy, in its great struggle with the imperial dignity of the German sovereigns. This it was, which supported in every district an independent party, and, at length ruining the authority of the emperor, left the cities of Italy free to indulge themselves in the prosecution of the schemes of their ambition. The pretensions of the papacy were first entirely developed in the eleventh century. Then was first proposed to the Christian world the audacious claim of universal dominion, not merely in spiritual, but also in temporal concerns; and so well contrived was the agency, by which it was maintained, that even at this day, after all the philosophy of the eighteenth century, it seems to require only a favourable opportunity for displaying itself with all its original boldness. Nor did Gregory VII.[15] argue inconclusively from spiritual to temporal dominion, since the interests of the present life are truly important only in their relation to a future state.

---

[14] Révol. d'Italie, p. 182.

The power of the Roman pontiffs had been much augmented since the time of Charlemagne, and was then well prepared for the struggle. However insecure was their domestic authority in Rome, their dominion over the church was improved and extended by various occurrences, because their power was founded, not on human strength, but on human opinion. The advancement of Charles *the bald* to the imperial dignity, in the year 876, which was effected by the influence of the pontiff, was the first remarkable occasion of aggrandisement, the succeeding pontiffs having by him, in return, been authorised to receive consecration[16], without waiting for the consent of the emperors, a privilege retained until the reign of the first of the Othos. The contentions, which arose in the decline of the family of Charlemagne, were yet more auspicious to their ambition, and their power accordingly made a continual progress. The papal power was indeed repressed and controlled by the ascendency of Otho; but this ascendency, created by the personal qualities of the German monarch, soon yielded to the embarrassing relation of the empire and the papacy, especially as the pontiffs had been careful to provide a number of pretensions, ready for every opportunity presenting a prospect of success. These pretensions were all recorded in the fabricated decretals[17], which were ascribed to the popes of the first four centuries, but had really been forged and published in the ninth. The human understanding had, indeed, even in that age of ignorance, resisted a fiction so manifest; the pontiffs, however, persisted in maintaining their credit, and at length found in their establishment an ample basis for all their usurpations.

---

[15] Abrégé Chron., tome iii. pp. 715, 716. The abbé Fleury has remarked, that the argument proves too much, for, according to it, there should be no other than ecclesiastical judges or governors.—Ibid. Sound logic would have taught him, that the argument, which proves too much, proves nothing.

[16] Mosheim's Eccles. Hist., cent. ix. part ii. ch. ii.

[17] These were first published by Riculphus, bishop of Mentz, who died in the year 814. It is commonly believed, that he brought them from Spain, since the collection bears the name of Isidorus; but, as various passages have been taken from the proceedings of councils, and the writings of several persons, subsequent to his time, the compilation could not have been the work of Isidorus, who died in the year 636. Some part, indeed, of the collection must have been added, after the death of Riculphus; and it is probable, that Benedict, a deacon of

The power of opinion, great as it was, might not have been sufficient for the violent contest, in which the papacy was engaged, if it had not been reinforced by a temporal auxiliary. Such an aid was, however, seasonably provided in Matilda, marchioness of Tuscany[18], who attached herself to the see of Rome with the ardour of a devotee, and

the church of Mentz, who made a collection of canons, by the order of the successor of Riculphus, completed these decretals. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, with the French bishops, resisted them as destitute of authority. They were, however, adopted and maintained by the court of Rome so strenuously, that they were at length practically established, though always questioned by the learned.—Dupin's Hist. of Ecclesiastical Writers, vol. i. p. 583. It was pretended that they had been composed by the popes preceding the year 335.—Hist. des Allemands, par Schmidt, tome ii. p. 249.

[18] Beatrice, the mother of Matilda, was descended from the royal family of France. She married Boniface, duke and marquess of Tuscany, probably in the year 1036. Boniface died in the year 1052, and at the close of the following year Beatrice married Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, who retired into Italy in resentment of a wrong suffered from the emperor, and died there at the end of the year 1069. He had, however, been but administrator and co-regent of the estates of Beatrice, as was also his son Godfrey, who married her daughter Matilda. Beatrice and the husband of Matilda both died in the year 1076, so that Matilda remained sole possessor of the estates of her family. In the year 1077, she made a donation of them to the see of Rome, and she died in the year 1115. Her Italian possessions comprehended the whole of Tuscany and a part of Lombardy. The emperor, to whom her fiefs devolved, claimed the whole, and long continued to possess it. At length, in the year 1200, agreeably to a will of the emperor Henry VI., found after a victory gained by the pope and his allies over the marquess of Ancona, the Roman see obtained possession of considerable demesnes. The will directed that the marquess should receive from the pope the investiture of the duchy of Ravenna, of the marquisate of Ancona, of the county of Bertinoso, and of Argelata and Medisina, in the Bolognese; and that Montefiascone, with all the country from Monte-Paile to Ceperano, should be given to the pope. It must be understood, that Matilda, having granted her possessions to the see of Rome, received them again by investiture.—Abrégé Chron., tom. iv. p. 1198, etc. and 1278, etc.

finally bequeathed to it those possessions, which afterwards received the name of the patrimony of Saint Peter. Animated against the German court by a sense of private wrong[19], Matilda appears to have been also actuated by a sincerity of zeal, which even exceeded that of the pontiff, whose cause she had embraced[20]. Nor was this the only temporal support, which the Roman see received in this trying emergency. The sovereignty formed about this time by the Normans, in the southern provinces of Italy, though at first regarded by that see with apprehension and alienation, was soon discovered to offer a useful asylum against the fury of the emperor, and, in the exchange of ecclesiastical for secular protection, was even brought to acquiesce in the rank of a feudal dependency of the papacy[21].

The Italians, at the death of the emperor, Henry II., which happened in the year 1024, redoubled their efforts to throw off the yoke of German sovereignty; but, having failed in two attempts to induce a French prince to accept a dignity so precarious and unsatisfactory[22], they at length, after an interregnum of three years, acquiesced in the advancement of Conrad II., who had been recently elected king of Germany. Though the reign of this emperor lasted twelve years, the wars, which he was obliged to wage in Germany and France, did not suffer him to pass much of that time in Italy. The ninth year of his reign, or the year 1035, was, accordingly, the epoch of the insurrection of the commons of Italy against the lords[23]. Destitute of the protection of their sovereign, the rear-vassals of Milan declared that they would seek in their own courage protection against the oppression of their lords, who had generally exacted services beyond the duties of their fiefs; and their bold example was a signal of resistance to all of the lower ranks in Italy.

---

[19] At the death of duke Godfrey, Henry IV. had taken possession of the duchy of Spoleto and the marquisate of Ferrara. Abrégé Chron., tome iii. p. 698. [20] When Werner, bishop of Strasburgh, who had been cited to Rome on a charge of simony, and had been already punished for his offence, passed through the territories of Matilda and her mother Beatrice, they caused him to be arrested, though Gregory had admitted him to penitence, and had then sent him to Milan; and they complained to Gregory, not only that he had absolved Werner with too much facility, but also that he had relaxed much of his former severity in his conduct towards the bishops of Lombardy. —Ibid., p. 638. [21] In the year 1054, the Roman pontiff, Leo IX., who had been made a prisoner by these Normans, concluded this agreement. Ibid., p. 208. [22] The crown of the empire was first offered to Robert, king of France, for himself or his son, and then, in the like manner, to the duke of Aquitaine.—Ibid., tome ii. p. 1022—1024.

Conrad II. was succeeded on the throne of Germany by his son, Henry III., who was detained six years in that country, before he could visit Italy for the purpose of receiving the crown of the empire. These protracted absences appear to have been agreeable to the Italians, Henry having been not only admitted to the imperial dignity without opposition, but even permitted to act with authority before the solemnity of his coronation. He was favoured indeed by the deplorable situation of the Roman see[24], at that time reduced to extreme indigence by the depredations, to which it had been exposed, and degraded by the competitions of three rival pontiffs, all pronounced by a council to have been simoniacal intruders. In such circumstances, even before his coronation, Henry convened the council[25], by which the competitors were deposed; he then procured the election of a German bishop, who assumed the name of Clement II.; and he was immediately crowned as emperor by the new pontiff of his own creation. A council was soon afterwards assembled, which rendered the appointment of future pontiffs wholly dependent on the emperors[26]; and Henry was able to render this regulation operative in three successive instances[27], in each of which a German prelate was advanced to the papacy.

This predominant sway of the German monarch was however a forced state of things, serving only to prepare the occasion of the violent contention, which soon arose between the papal and the imperial power. The spring was, by special circumstances, strongly compressed, so that it recoiled with more expansive energy, as soon as that compression had been removed. It was removed in circumstances most fitted to allow its entire effect to the re-action, the premature death of the emperor being succeeded by the long minority of his son.

---

[23] Abrégé Chron., tome iii. p. 46. [24] Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. pp. 135, 136. [25] Abrégé Chron., tome iii. pp. 120—122. [26] Ibid. p. 124. The alleged occasion of this decree was the practice, which had prevailed among the Romans, of selling their suffrages in the papal elections.—Ibid., p. 122. [27] In the instances of Damasus II., Leo IX., and Victor II.

The following reign of Henry IV. was the memorable period of the struggle of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, which was waged, indeed, in every state of western Europe, but was more particularly directed against the German emperors, because they were closely connected with the see of Rome. The German government too, in which the crown, with great apparent dignity, had little real power, and the formidable principality of Saxony was opposed to the sovereign[28], was, more than any other, capable of being shaken by the aggressions of the papacy. In the contest with these princes therefore was chiefly manifested, for the instruction of the world and of posterity, how far the claim of ecclesiastical dominion may be carried, when the human mind has once permitted itself to be subdued.

Henry IV., at the death of his father, was scarcely six years old; a long minority, therefore, began his reign over his Italian kingdom, of which he had been crowned king conjointly with his father, and afforded a most advantageous opportunity for preparing the aggressions, by which he was afterwards encountered. Muratori[29] has accordingly noticed this minority, as the very crisis of the most horrible convulsions both of Italy and Germany, but particularly of a revolution, which changed by degrees the entire face of the former country. Nor was the opportunity confined to the weakness generally attending a minority, for in the second year of it began those domestic dissensions of Germany, which, sixteen years afterwards, were matured by the papal influence into the alarming revolt of the Saxons, and constituted an effectual diversion of the power of the emperor.

---

[28] The revolt of the Saxons originated from the change of the reigning family of Germany, the Saxon dynasty having ended in the year 1024 with the reign of Henry II. The minority of Henry IV., who succeeded to the throne in the year 1056, tempted the first efforts of rebellion.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 202.

[29] Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. p. 176.

Gregory VII., the famous Hildebrand, who maintained this desperate conflict, was a champion in every respect qualified to wage the battle of the Roman see. Unimpeachable in his morals, for the accusations of his enemies do not appear to have deserved any serious regard[30]; respectable for his literary attainments, though not entitled to be considered as a professed scholar; and insensible to all the privations and sufferings, to which, in his great struggle, he became exposed; he seems to have been sincerely persuaded, that his insatiable thirst of dominion was the genuine dictate of religious zeal, and that the kingdom of Jesus Christ, in contradiction to his own express declaration, was a kingdom of this world, and even paramount to all other kingdoms. So entirely was the soul of Gregory engrossed by a persuasion of the justness of his views[31], that he boldly ventured to denounce present prosperity and adversity[32] as the sanctions of his government, a denunciation, in one remarkable instance, most unequivocally falsified.

As the means of maintaining this struggle for dominion, he laboured to enforce the celibacy of the clergy[33], and the belief of transubstantiation[34]. These indeed were the true engines of the papal greatness. If he could tear the clergy from the social ties of life, he was sure to find them willing agents of his ambition, for the human mind must

---

[30] A history of the life of Gregory VII. was produced in a council assembled at Worms, by Henry, in the year 1076; and on account of the heinous crimes ascribed to him in it, his election was declared void.—Abrégé Chron., tome iii. p. 699, &c. No credit, however, is given to the narrative.—Ibid., et Hist. des Papes, tome ii. p. 471, 472. The leading accusation is a charge of magical practices.

[31] In a letter addressed to the archbishop of Ravenna, his suffragans, and the other bishops of northern Italy, he declared his intention of sending legates into Germany, and denounced against those, who should resist their authority, that he bound them by the apostolic power, not only as to the soul, but also as to the body, and as to all the prosperity of this life, and that he took victory from their arms. And among the ordinances of a council, convened at Rome in the year 1080, he supplicated the apostles Peter and Paul, that they would make all the world perceive, that if they were able to bind and loose in heaven, they could on earth give to, and take away from each, according to his merits, empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties, and the possessions of all men.—Abrégé Chron., tome iii. pp. 752-779. [32] In a sermon, he expressly promised a victory to Rodolph, the rival of Henry, and, at the same time, predicted the death of Henry. The latter part of his unfortunate prophesies he explained away by referring it to the soul of that prince.—Hist. des Papes, tome ii. p. 475. [33] The first regulation made in favour of the celibacy of the clergy, appears in the canons of

---

the council of Ancyra, convened about the year 308, when it was ordained, that those deacons, who had not at their ordination declared a wish of marrying, should be set aside from their ministry, if they should afterwards engage in matrimony.—Summa Conc. et Pont., per Caranzam, p. 42. Salmanticæ, 1551. At the council of Neocæsarea, convened a little before that of Nice, it was determined that, if a priest should marry, he should be deprived of his rank, but those who were already married, were allowed to retain their wives, unless convicted of adultery.—Ibid., pp. 49, 50. That the clergy should separate from their wives, was first proposed at the council of Nice, assembled in the year 325, but being strenuously resisted by Paphnutius, a confessor of great reputation, who was himself unmarried, and distinguished for chastity, the measure was rejected.—Socratis Hist. Eccles., lib. i. cap. xi. Pope Syricus, in the year 385, issued a declaration, by which it was earnestly recommended.—Carranza, p. 125. In the beginning of the fifth century it was attacked, with other superstitions, by Vigilantius, who was, however, overpowered by Jerome.—Mosh., cent. v. part ii. ch. iii. The exhortation of Syricus was, about the year 405, converted by Innocent I. into a peremptory order.—Carranza, p. 160. But though many councils added their authority to that of the papacy, the celibacy of the clergy seems to have been first effectually enforced by Gregory VII., in the eleventh century. In the Greek church, a council was assembled in the year 692, by which the clergy in general were prohibited from marrying, and the bishops were even required to separate from their wives, but the inferior clergy were permitted to live with the wives, whom they had previously married.

[34] This doctrine was first proposed in the year 831, by Pascasius Radbert, a monk, and afterwards abbot, of Corbey. In the year 845 an improved edition of his treatise, which was presented to Charles *the bald*, gave occasion to a violent controversy, Charles having directed that a clear exposition of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper should be prepared by Bertramn, or Ratramn, and by Johannes Scotus, whose statements were adverse to the notion of Radbert.—Mosh. cent. ix. part ii. ch. iii. sect. 19-21. Radbert, however, only outstripped his age a little in the progress of absurdity. The doctrine possessed recommendations too powerful to be neglected, of importance to the clergy, and of wonder to the laity; and accordingly, when Berenger of Tours began, towards the middle of the eleventh century, to revive the doctrine of Bertramn and Scotus, he was compelled to submit to repeated retractations, the last proceeding being that of Gregory VII. It is indeed, questionable, whether Gregory did not agree with him in his private opinion, nor was the doctrine of transubstantiation declared to be that of the church, or even the

create for itself an interest of some kind or other; and if he could subdue the understanding to the admission of the great priest-exalting doctrine, he was sure to find the laity prompt in acknowledging his pretensions. His plan, therefore, though he died in exile[35], was, in a considerable degree, successful. The doctrine of transubstantiation, indeed, could not be fully established before the last age of the ignorance of Europe, of which it was the genuine production; but he did succeed in enforcing celibacy[36], and if the claim of supremacy was afterwards compromised, it had, at least, shaken the German government to its foundation, and wrested from it the independence of Italy.

Nor were the plans of this extraordinary man limited to

---

name adopted, before the year 1215.—Ibid., cent. xi. part ii. ch. iii. sect. 13. &c., and cent. xiii. part ii. ch. iii. sect. 2. Whether this doctrine was also maintained by the Greek church became, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the subject of a vehement controversy, which arose in France from another between the Roman catholics and protestants, concerning the antiquity of the faith of Rome. Mosheim seems disposed to admit, that a certain vague and obscure notion of this kind did prevail in several of the Greek churches, during many ages; and it appears that, though the term *μετουσιωσις*, which corresponds to the Latin term *transubstantiatio*, was not anciently used in the Greek church, yet *μεταϐολη* and *μεταστοιχειωσις* were used, though, as is alleged, only in a metaphorical application.—Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs, &c., par J. Aymon. Haye, 1708. It is certain, that in the council of Florence, convened in the year 1439, this doctrine was one of the five articles, which were the subjects of controversy with the Greeks, when a vain attempt was made to effect a union of the two churches. The others were the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, equally as from the Father; purgatory; the supremacy of the pope, and the use of unleavened bread in the sacrament.—Carranza, p. 618.

[35] At Salerno, whither he had retired for the protection of Robert duke of Puglia.

[36] Bayle has remarked (art. Gregory VII.) that the popes have found it incomparably more difficult to bring the clergy of the northern countries under the law of celibacy, than those of the south. He explains this difference by supposing that the northern clergy were more attached to marriage, as being more chaste. Perhaps the true solution may be found in the consideration, that monastic celibacy was the product of a southern region. It seems that a warm climate tends to produce a mystical abstraction of mind, as well as to inflame the sensual appetite, and thus to counteract, in some degree, by affecting the imagination, the mischievous effects which it may produce, as it acts upon the corporeal frame; a curious instance of moral compensation.

the government, with which his see was connected, or to those two principal engines of his ambition, but also comprehended almost every state in Europe, and every expedient of authority. France, England, Spain, Denmark, Russia, Hungary, Dalmatia, and Sardinia[37], all received demands of obedience from the see of Rome, though with very various success. The great enterprise of the crusades, that triumph of superstitious zeal, appears to have been projected by Gregory VII.[38], twenty-two years before it was actually undertaken; and by this pontiff was issued the first of those prohibitions of performing the service of the church in the language understood by the people, which were so effectual to ensure their ignorance and submission[39]. His papacy, which was begun in the year 1073, and ended in the year 1085, was, therefore, the important period, in which the see of Rome put forth its energies; and so well devised were the maxims[40], by which his conduct was regulated, that an office corresponding to them was introduced into the churches of Rome in the latter part of the seventeenth century[41], and was published for the general use of the church by the order of Benedict XIII., who began his pontificate in the year 1724.

Hildebrand did not enter upon his pontificate without a series of precursors[42], beginning in the year 1048, each of whom suffered himself to be guided by his counsels; and twenty-five years[43] before the commencement of his own pontificate, he suggested the measure of re-electing at Rome a pope already elected at Worms. Henry IV. was indeed permitted, in the second year of his reign, to choose for the papacy the pontiff, who assumed the name of Nicholas II.; but this very pontiff signalized the commencement of his papacy by a decree, which may be regarded as the declaration of hostility between the church and the empire. This decree[44] enjoined that, when the papal see should be vacant, the cardinal-bishops should secretly deliberate on the choice of a pontiff, who should afterwards be proposed for the approbation of the rest of the clergy, and of the people; and that so long as proper candidates could be found among the clergy of Rome, they should be preferred to those of foreign churches. A clause was annexed, reserving the rights conceded to Henry IV., but intimating that those rights were confined to his own person, as derived from a particular concession. The death of Nicholas occurred soon afterwards, Henry, or rather his mother Agnes, who held the regency, named to the papacy the bishop of Parma, who assumed the name of Honorius II.; but the new party, animated by Hildebrand[45], had already elected another pontiff, who adopted the name of Alexander II. The latter, who survived his rival, was succeeded by Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory VII.

---

[37] Hist. des Papes, tome ii. p. 479. William the Conqueror appears to have resisted with most firmness, though he consented to pay the contribution named *Peter's pence*. [38] Abrégé Chron., tome iii. p. 614, &c. [39] This prohibition was issued to the Bohemians.—Hist. des Papes, tome ii. pp. 476, 477. [40] These maxims are comprehended in twenty-seven sentences, which Mosheim considered as fairly representing his principles, though they seemed to him to have been extracted from his epistles by some mean author.—Eccles. Hist., cent. xi. part ii. ch. ii. They may be seen in the Hist. des Papes, tome ii. p. 482. [41] Hist. des Papes, tome ii. p. 491.

[42] He seems to have influenced the conduct of the papal government, from the year 1048 to his own election in the year 1073, in which time eight pontiffs succeeded.—Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. p. 208.

[43] Leo IX.—Hist. des Papes, tome ii., p. 338.

Hildebrand, though he had recently instigated the election of a pope in disregard of the imperial right of nomination, was careful[46] to procure for himself the approbation of the emperor, probably because he feared that the want of it might be alleged to invalidate the daring measures, which he meditated. When this had been obtained, he at once ceased to dissemble, and boldly manifested the plan which he had formed[47], of withdrawing the clergy from the authority of secular princes, of rendering the empire in particular dependent on the see of Rome, of subjecting all governments in general to the priesthood, and of establishing at Rome[48] a perpetual synod for the administration of the affairs of Europe.

---

[44] Abrége Chron., tome iii. pp. 278, 280. [45] Ibid., p. 552.

[46] According to Sismondi a deputation had been sent on the occasion to the imperial court, but the bishop so deputed returned to Rome, because the regent had during a week neglected to give him audience. Hist. des Français, tome iv. p. 326. [47] Hist. d'Allemagne par Pfeffel, tome i. p. 213. The dominion of Spain he began to claim even before his consecration.—Abrégé Chron. tome iii, p. 536.

The immediate subject of contention with Henry IV. was the famous question of investitures, or of the power exercised by secular princes of admitting the superior clergy to the temporal possessions annexed to their benefices. All such investitures were, for the first time[49], in the year 1075, condemned by Gregory as simoniacal; and Henry was required to vindicate his conduct at Rome before a council assembled by the pope. The requisition was treated with contempt, and in two national synods[50], the one convened at Worms, the other at Pavia, Gregory was declared to have incurred the forfeiture of his see, for having presumed to constitute himself the judge of his sovereign, and also for various other offences. Gregory, not intimidated by this bold proceeding, hurled against Henry the sentence of excommunication, and not content with this most extraordinary, and almost unprecedented measure[51], he proceeded[52] to the confessedly unexampled extravagance of deposing the emperor from his governments of Germany and Italy, and exhorting the princes of the former country to elect another sovereign[53] in conjunction with the papal see. In this great struggle the imperial dignity yielded to the ascendency of Rome. Henry, when he had submitted to the most abject humiliations[54] and experienced all the disturbance, which the papal intrigues could excite against his authority, sunk at last under the rebellion of his son, and abdicated the empire.

---

[48] As the pope maintained that no bishop could be canonically appointed except by his authority, this was a struggle for his own power. —Abrégé Chron., tome iii. p. 460. [49] Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. p. 241. [50] As the father of Henry IV. had disposed of three popes, he might naturally expect to dispose of one.—Schmidt, tome iii. p. 88.

[51] Ambrose had publicly represented to Theodosius, that being guilty of innocent blood, he could not be admitted into the sanctuary, nor participate the sacraments of the church, until he should have performed penance for his sin; but he did not excommunicate the prince by a judicial sentence. Augustine had even declared, that it was not expedient that princes should be excommunicated.—Abrégé Chron., tome iii. pp. 714, 715. Gregory V., however, is said to have excommunicated Robert king of France, for his marriage with his kinswoman Bertha, for which he had not procured a dispensation.—Henault, vol. i. p. 112. [52] This sentence was issued in the year 1076. Two years before he had, indeed, issued a conditional sentence of the same kind against Philip I. of France, but it was disregarded by that prince, and was followed by no consequences.—Abrégé Chron. tome iii. p. 628. [53] He directed that they should report to him the person whom they should choose, and his character, that he might confirm the election, so that it might be executed with apostolic authority.—Ibid. p. 718.

The contest did not end with the ruin of Henry IV., for, though his son Henry V. had availed himself of the power of the church to expel him from the throne, yet, when he was himself seated on it, he adopted the same sentiments, and maintained the same resistance to the pretensions of Rome. At length, in the year 1122, it was compromised by the *concordat* of pope Calixtus II.[55] By this convention the emperor renounced the power of nominating to benefices, re-establishing the ancient form of canonical elections; and the pope on his part consented, that these elections should be held in the presence of the emperor, who should have the right of deciding in doubtful cases; that, instead of the ancient form of investiture by the cross and ring, bishops, and all other beneficiaries immediately subject to the emperor, should be invested with their temporalities by the sceptre; and that all such beneficiaries should be obliged to render to the emperor all the services connected with their fiefs. Schmidt, in his history of Germany, has made an observation in regard to the elections stipulated by this *concordat*, which exhibits a remarkable example of an unforeseen result. We may easily suppose, says the historian[56], that Charles V. would not have named to bishoprics persons maintaining a doctrine proscribed by his edicts; but this pontiff, in his struggle for power, had established elections of the bishops, which, at the expiration of four centuries, afforded opportunities for introducing into the higher stations of the church of Germany the proselytes of the Reformation.

The troubles excited by the court of Rome in the long reign of Henry IV.[57], presented an occasion, of which many cities of Lombardy[58] eagerly availed themselves for asserting their independence. Milan, since the time of Charlemagne[59], the first of these cities, was their leader in this revolution. Naturally jealous of the neighbouring city of Pavia, the capital of that country in the time of the Lombards, and rendered yet more adverse by the contention for the crown of Italy, between Henry II. of Germany and an Italian prince, in which they had attached themselves to opposite parties, it had already waged war with its rival, as if it had been wholly free from the control of a superior authority, and, though it continued to acknowledge the sovereignty of the emperor, had at length adopted a republican form of interior administration, in which it was followed by many other cities. The very name of the Italian kingdom indeed was suppressed in the year 1099[60], when Henry, son and successor of the emperor Henry IV., was declared king of the Romans, instead of being named king of Italy.

---

[54] Three successive days he remained alone, barefooted, exposed to the severity of an inclement winter, and without nourishment, waiting to be admitted to the presence of the pontiff.—Abrégé Chron. tome iii. p. 727.

[55] Ibid. pp. 1093, 1094.

[56] Hist. des Allemands tome iii. p. 272.

Scarcely, however, had the cities of northern Italy attained to a state of independence[61], when they became engaged in mutual contentions, and the history of their country a confused assemblage of petty hostilities. This is unhappily the general tendency of human nature. The desire of independence is commonly but the struggle of ambition, which first aspires to be equal, and then cannot be satisfied without becoming superior. Nor does the history of the little states of Italy differ in any other respect from the general history of the world, than in relating efforts of ambition exerted in a narrower compass, and by communities so inconsiderable that the passions of individuals were personally excited. But, however irksome must be the details of this hostility, it was yet the active fermentation, out of which were produced the best principles of modern improvement. The wars of larger nations effect the forcible compressions, by which the great masses of mankind are held together in society; those of petty communities, in which the energies of individuals are most stimulated, because every individual possesses a relative importance, serve also to develope the principles of human refinement, by which the larger societies are afterwards improved. The contentions of the little nations of Greece drew forth into action all the various powers of the human genius, to be adopted into the magnificence of imperial Rome, and diffused throughout the world in compensation of her conquering ambition.

---

[57] As a German sovereign he had reigned the half of a century but he possessed the imperial dignity only twenty-two years, having obtained it from Guibert the anti-pope, whom he had caused to be elected, when he had driven Gregory VII. from Rome.—Abrégé Chron., tome iii. p. 819.

[58] Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. pp. 353, 354.

[59] Révol. d'Italie, tome iii. pp. 381, 382. Abrégé Chron. tome ii. p. 968. Annali d'Italia, ubi supra.

[60] Abrégé Chron., tome iii. p. 877. Sigonius has represented the kingdom of Italy as formally terminated in the year 1286, when the emperor sold his remaining pretensions. But Muratori discredits his authority, as not sufficiently ancient, and even considers this passage as one of many, which had been added to the genuine history.—Annali d'Italia, tomo vii. p. 465. Maximilian I., in the year 1508, ordained that his successors should be entitled *emperors elect* immediately after they had been consecrated as kings of Germany. Since that time the title of *king of the Romans* has belonged to the eventual successor, elected during the life of an emperor, and to the reigning prince in the short interval between his election and his coronation.—Pfeffel, tome i p. 259.

[61] Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. p. 419.

All at this time wanted, for completing the revolution of northern Italy, was that the powers assumed by its states should be guaranteed by an express stipulation. This was soon supplied in the progress of the political interests of that country. The process, by which it was effected, consisted of two distinct parts, the earlier part of which permitted their liberties to acquire consistency and strength, and the latter provoked them, by a sudden extension of the power of the empire, to efforts which terminated in a formal acknowledgement of their freedom.

Henry V., who concluded the *concordat* with the pontiff, was, during the three remaining years of his reign[62], occupied by the disturbances, which continued to agitate Germany not less than before, and, after an interregnum of eight years, was succeeded in the imperial dignity by Lothaire II., who held it only four. The reign of Lothaire, short as it was, presented indeed some interruption to the completion of Italian liberty, as, in two incursions, he subdued with rapidity almost the whole peninsula[63]; but it will be shown, in a following chapter, that this momentary obstruction had a relation to another operation, which was then beginning, the formation of a connection between the German empire and the sovereignty recently erected in southern Italy[64]; and its immediate influence was, in its consequence, favourable to the independence of the northern provinces, for the Sicilian monarch, alarmed at the dangerous inroad, employed himself in exciting disturbances in Germany, which effectually disabled Conrad III., the successor of Lothaire on the German throne, for ever visiting Italy to receive the crown of the empire. In the second year of the reign of Frederic I., which followed that of Conrad, the invasion occurred, which provoked the exertions of the northern republics of Italy, and ended in the recognition of their liberties.

---

[62] Abrégé Chron., tome iv. p. 1096.

[63] Ibid. pp. 1138, &c.

It appears from this statement, that of thirty-two years, which elapsed between the *concordat* of Henry V. and the first expedition of Frederic I., the whole might be considered as a sort of interregnum of the empire, except only the three, in which Italy was overrun by Lothaire II., the imperial dignity being actually vacant during all except six. The northern states of Italy were accordingly during this time abandoned almost wholly to themselves; their independence consequently became by degrees more and more firmly established; and they were at length prepared for the crisis, which rendered it complete and secure.

The occasion of the expedition of Frederic I., which was in its consequences thus decisive of the fortune of northern Italy, was furnished by the ambition of the Milanese. As Milan had been the first of the cities of Lombardy in asserting its independence[65], so was it that which first attempted to subjugate the surrounding cities. Some of these, as Lodi and Como, were reduced to absolute servitude; others, as Pavia and Cremona, were harassed by the continual attacks of the Milanese; and all were justly filled with alarm and apprehension. It was particularly in the reign of that Conrad, who, though possessed of the German crown, could never find leisure for obtaining the crown of the empire, that the people of Milan indulged their ambition to the greatest excess. This prince, whom they had supported in a contest with his predecessor, was so sensible of their power, that he carefully avoided every interference with their plans of aggrandisement, being already sufficiently occupied with the disturbances of Germany. But Frederic, a prince of a bold and enterprising character, having ascended the throne in very different circumstances, availed himself of the general alarm excited by the ambition of the Milanese, to establish in even more than its former authority the dominion of the empire. Combining in his own person the rival pretensions of two great families[66], which had distracted Germany, he was enabled to exercise a degree of power, which his predecessors had not dared to hazard, and the solicitations of some cities and many individuals of Italy, aggrieved by the usurpations and tyranny of Milan, afforded an opportunity as favourable, as an ambitious emperor could desire.

---

[64] This connection was formed in the year 1186, by the marriage of Henry, son of Frederic I., with Constantia, heiress of Naples and Sicily.

[65] Révol. d'Italie, tome iii. pp. 381, 382.

Frederic, having entered Italy about two years after his accession to the crown of Germany, immediately commenced hostilities against the Milanese; but, being desirous of receiving the imperial crown, he proceeded to Rome, whence however he was soon compelled to withdraw his army into Germany, that he might save it from the ravages of the climate. Three years afterwards he undertook a second expedition into Italy, and, having been joined by the forces of many cities, began the siege of Milan with an army exceeding a hundred thousand men. That city, having been forced to submit on a capitulation, one of the conditions of which was that certain royalties should be transferred to the emperor, Frederic soon afterwards assembled an Italian diet, to which were summoned four celebrated professors of the civil law[67], at that time taught in Bologna; and there agreeably to the principles of the Roman jurisprudence, and to the wishes of the prince, it was solemnly pronounced, that the emperor might justly claim all the regalities without exception.

---

[66] He was by his father the chief of the Ghibelins, and by his mother nephew to him, who was at the head of the Guelfs.—Abrégé Chron., tome iii. p. 385.

[67] Bulgaro, Martino Gossia, Jacopo, and Ugone, all four scholars of Irnerio, who first taught law at Bologna. Frederic, riding one day between Bulgaro and Martino Gossia, demanded of them, whether he was by right master of the world. Bulgaro replied that he was not master in regard to property, but Martino insisted that in this respect also he was master. The emperor then alighting, presented Martino with his horse; whereupon Bulgaro

So much success might have satisfied an ordinary ambition; but Frederic could not be contented without the total humiliation of the Milanese, whom he had determined to render an example of terror to their countrymen[68]. In disregard of the capitulation[69], he took from them other territories, besides those which they were bound to relinquish. He then required of them to suppress their consulate, and to create a new magistrate, to whom he gave the name *podesta*, though the consuls had been allowed by the capitulation, subject however to the condition of receiving from the emperor a confirmation of their appointment. At length, irritated by their resistance, or impatient of longer forbearance, he declared the people of Milan to be enemies of his crown. The war was accordingly renewed, and the total destruction of this considerable city having been effected in the year 1162, every thing yielded to Frederic, whose authority was completely established from the Alps to Rome.

All this success, however, but afforded an example of that re-action, which prevails in the political, as in the physical world, and has so frequently frustrated the enterprises of a grasping ambition, for the extraordinary aggrandisement of the imperial power was the immediate occasion of the independence of those very states, which were at this time reduced to submission. Two years only afterwards the cities of Lombardy [70], galled by the oppressions of the imperial ministers, and remembering with regret the privileges of which they had been deprived, began to confederate for their mutual protection, and after two years more, though they still professed to retain their fidelity to the emperor, they ventured to rebuild the city, which he had so recently caused to be destroyed. A war ensued,

---

said, Amisi equum, quia dixi æquum, quod non fuit æquum.—Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. pp. 533, 534. The imperial title was supposed by both to have conveyed to the German sovereigns all the pretensions of the ancient emperors.

[68] Frederic dated several diplomas from the destruction of Milan.—Abrégé Chron., tome v. p. 252.

[69] Ibid., p. 196—198.

[70] Ibid., p. 264.

which was not concluded until ten years had expired, though, on account of the absence of the emperor, it had languished during six years of that time[71]; a signal victory was then gained by the confederated cities[72], in consequence of which a truce was concluded for six years; and, at the expiration of the truce, in the year 1183[73], was arranged at Constance a final pacification, by which the Italian cities were confirmed in the possession of their former privileges, nothing being reserved to the emperor except a mere sovereignty and some rights of inconsiderable importance.

The state of these cities at this time may be collected from a report, which, a few years before, had been made by the bishop of Frisinghen[74], uncle of the emperor Frederic. They were described as having, in manners and language, recovered much of the politeness of the ancient Romans; as so ardently attached to liberty, that they would submit to be governed only by consuls annually elected from all the different orders of the citizens; as having so effectually overpowered the nobility, that they compelled the nobles to reside within their walls, and to become subject to their judicatures; as having, to the astonishment of the writer, who saw nothing similar in his own country, admitted into their militias artists of every, even the lowest description; and as having, by this liberal encouragement of industrious ingenuity, become much more rich and powerful than those of other countries. The contentions of communities such as these could not fail to elicit principles of activity, fitted to improve the social state of man, and to exalt the powers of his genius.

The crusades, which were begun in 1096, and were terminated in the year 1291[75], were, during nearly the half of their period, contemporary to the events, which have been considered in this chapter. But, though the great spring of these extraordinary and interesting expeditions was the ecclesiastical influence of the see of Rome, Italy was scarcely affected by them, except as they opened new facilities for its commerce, the Italians having been led into the east scarcely by any other motive than a spirit of commercial enterprise[76]. The prevailing manners of Italy were those of cities, not of a chivalrous nobility; and commercial, not chivalrous enterprise, was the favourite object. In this view, however, the crusades were curiously connected with the events, which have been reviewed in this chapter, for we may observe the independence of the northern states of Italy preparing itself for the valuable opportunities of traffic presented by these memorable expeditions, the commencement of the distracted reign of Henry IV. of Germany having preceded the first of them just forty years.

---

[71] Abrégé Chron., pp. 312-352.

[72] These were Milan, Brescia, Placentia, Bergamo, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Trivigi, Mantua, Faenza, Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Lodi, Novara, Vercelli, and that of the marquess Obizzon Malaspina. On the other hand, Pavia, Cremona, Como, Tortona, Asti, Alba, Genoa, and Alexandria, adhered to the emperor.—Annali d'Italia, tomo vii. p. 48.

[73] Abrégé Chron., tome v. pp. 402, 404.

[74] Annali d'Italia, tomo vi. p. 510.

[75] In that year the Christians lost Ptolemais, or Acre, their last possession in the east.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the history of northern Italy, from the peace of Constance, concluded in the year 1183, *to the establishment of the papal see in Avignon, in the year* 1309.

Republican confederation of Tuscany, in the year 1198—Origin of the parties of the Ghibelins and the Guelfs—The kingdom of the two Sicilies united with Germany, 1194—Innocent III., pope in 1198—Struggle with the papacy renewed—The imperial party in Italy ruined, 1250—The kingdom of the two Sicilies detached from Germany, and connected with France, 1265—The island of Sicily detached from the Italian territory of the Sicilian crown, and connected with Spain, 1282—Papacy established at Avignon, 1308—Three successive sets of republics in Italy—The liberties of the cities of Lombardy began to yield to usurpation, 1209—destroyed throughout almost the whole country soon after 1250—Two causes of this revolution—Origin of political clubs—Extreme democracy of Florence—Its popular government commenced, 1250, and completed 1282—Mercantile corporations begun there, 1266

---

[76] Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, par A. H. L. Heeren, p. 39. Paris, 1808.

—Imperfection of the republics of Italy—Origin of Venice, 452—Venice contrasted with Genoa.—Ecclesiastical dominion of the papacy perfected by pope Innocent III., elected 1198.

By the peace of Constance, the states of Lombardy were formed in a federative republic, of which the German sovereign was the president. In the period reviewed in the present chapter, that confederacy lost its combination, and the several states, not of Lombardy alone, but also of Tuscany [1], assumed an entire independence. This was the great issue of the fortunes of modern Italy. By the establishment of numerous little communities, in close vicinity, and therefore in the highest excitement, which their reciprocal action could produce, were at length developed all those principles of social activity, which had been preserved in this interesting country for the restoration of human refinement. When this important process had been completed, the powers of Italy seem to have been exhausted. Its turbulent democracies first submitted to various usurpers, its arts and its literature soon afterwards fled away to embellish the other countries of the west[2], and the complex combinations of its diplomacy, which gave a beginning to the federative relations of Europe, degenerated at length into the intrigues of cunning imbecility.

Frederic I. reigned only seven years after he had been compelled to acquiesce in the treaty of Constance. In this remainder of his reign preparation was made for the accomplishment of the independence of the Italian states, by effecting, in the year 1186, a marriage between Henry VI., the son of that prince, and Constantia, the heiress of the crown of Sicily[3], which, as it tended to combine the powers of Germany and Sicily, tended also to excite an alarm for the liberty of Italy. The marriage was, indeed, so vehemently resisted by the Roman pontiff, that he even suspended from their functions the prelates who had assisted at the ceremony[4].

---

[1] Tuscany, originally a district of Lombardy, appears to have become a distinct province, in consequence of the natural demarcation made by the Apennines.

[2] One art only appears to have remained to the Italians in exclusive excellence, that of vocal music, the Germans claiming the pre-eminence in instrumental harmony. This seems to have been the gift of climate.

[3] To this kingdom belonged the Italian territory, which afterwards constituted the kingdom of Naples.

[4] Abrégé Chron., tome v. pp. 412, 414.

Henry succeeded to the imperial dignity five years after his marriage; but, though the Sicilian throne had become vacant within that interval, and his queen had become entitled to claim the inheritance, the connection did not then, nor for a considerable time afterwards, produce its effect. A powerful party among the Sicilians was adverse to the accession of a German sovereign, and Tancred[5], an illegitimate, or at least an unacknowledged member of the royal family, was placed upon the throne. Tancred having died at the close of three years, Henry soon afterwards took possession of the kingdom. The three years, during which this prince held the Sicilian government, were employed in exercising severities, alleged to be necessary for the security of his person and authority, though offensive to the patriotic feelings even of his queen[6]; and he was followed on the throne of Germany by two successive princes, neither of whom had any pretension to the crown of Sicily[7]. It was not, then, until Frederic II., the son of Henry VI. and Constantia, had, in the year 1212, become sovereign of Germany, that the dreaded combination of the two governments was truly realised. Constantia had died about a year after the death of her husband, and Frederic, whom she had prudently left under the guardianship of the Roman see, was constituted king of Sicily at the early age of five years, while every effort was exerted by the pontiff[8], to advance another family to the united thrones of Germany and the empire.

The suspension of this important combination was favourable to the progress of Italian liberty, as it allowed a considerable interval, in which the states of Lombardy could secure and enlarge the advantages, which they had procured, and those of Tuscany found an opportunity of forming a similar association, and aspiring to similar privileges. Henry VI., in particular, embarrassed at first by the opposition[9], which he encountered in prosecuting his pretension to the crown of Sicily, and afterwards occupied, not only with his acquisition of that kingdom, but also with his claim of the inheritance of the countess Matilda, was careful to avoid a general rupture with republics, which had proved so formidable adversaries to his father. He was not, indeed, induced to decline all hostilities with these states. To preserve the shadow of authority, which still remained to him, he leagued himself sometimes with one, sometimes with another, against those especially, which endeavoured to deprive of their castles the nobles attached to the imperial interest. But these very wars were eventually destructive of the authority, which he laboured to maintain, for he was compelled to purchase the services of those, which assisted him, by respecting their newly acquired franchises, and by permitting them to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the less powerful, and these changing hostilities caused all to feel in their turns, that, however the emperor might be induced by policy to affect occasionally to be a friend to each, he was in reality the common enemy of all. Nor was the reign of this prince, though apparently not so favourable to the growing liberty of Tuscany[10], as to that of Lombardy, less auspicious in its not distant consequences. All the towns of Tuscany, except Pisa, not only remained subject to the officers of the emperor, but were in general more tyrannically governed than before, especially when the Germans had reduced the southern provinces of Italy; these oppressions however, agreeably to the general law of political re-action, served but as an excitement to resistance, and, when at the death of Henry the connection of Germany with the new acquisitions had been interrupted, the Tuscans became the more eager to imitate the successful example of the cities of Lombardy, by confederating for the support of their independence.

---

[5] Abrégé Chron., tome v. p. 420. [6] Ibid. pp. 452, 458.

[7] Philip, another son of Frederic I., and Otho IV., a prince of a different family, who had been supported by pope Innocent III., as having no shadow of pretension to the Sicilian crown. [8] Ibid. p. 460. [9] Révol. d'Italie, tome iv. pp. 2, 3.

At the death of Henry VI., his son Frederic, whom he had previously caused to be declared king of the Romans, had scarcely attained the age of four years, and his minority afforded an occasion so favourable to the intrigues of the papacy, that he did not gain possession of the throne of Germany until fifteen years had elapsed, in which interval it had been occupied by two successive princes. The former of these was Philip, the uncle of the young Frederic, who was first appointed regent, and soon afterwards, when the pontiff had endeavoured to procure the election of a prince of a different and less formidable family, invested with the sovereign power. This prince, being wholly engaged in the struggle with his competitor, was not able to give any attention to the affairs of Italy, and could not even present himself to claim the crown of the empire. Otho IV., the other of these two German sovereigns, was in the second year of his possession of the crown of Germany invested by the pontiff with the imperial dignity; but, as he immediately afterwards retracted the promises[11], which he had made at his coronation, his three remaining years were employed in an unsuccessful struggle with a party excited against him in Germany by the emissaries of Rome, so that the Italian republics did not experience any restraint from the restoration of the dignity of emperor. The people of Italy, taking no interest in the contentions for the crown of Germany, sought only to establish and to enjoy their own independence; and the cities of Tuscany in particular, imitating the example of those of Lombardy[12], at the instigation of the Roman pontiff, formed in the year 1198, another republican confederacy.

---

[10] Révol. d'Italie, tome iv. pp. 6, 7.

Frederic II., at length, in the year 1212, ascended the throne of Germany, and held it during an agitated reign of thirty-eight years. Though it had been the policy of the court of Rome to separate the kingdom of Sicily from that of Germany, the defection of Otho had rendered it necessary to seek a rival powerful enough to supersede him, and the wishes of the Germans were directed to the young king of Sicily. The pontiff endeavoured to guard himself against the consequences of this hazardous measure by various stipulations[13], to all of which Frederic agreed, though one of them prescribed, that he should transfer the crown of Sicily to his eldest son, then however only nine years old; nor does it appear, that he would at all have engaged in a contest with the papal see, if Gregory IX., a pontiff animated with the spirit of the famous Hildebrand, had not been placed at its head. Impatient of his delay in underdertaking a crusade[14], in which he had promised to engage, the pontiff launched against him the dreaded anathema of Rome; the emperor at last actually embarked in the expedition, but, having sailed without obtaining absolution, was followed to the east by the papal interdict; and, though a reconciliation was afterwards effected, yet the jealousy of Gregory again broke out, and the contention was renewed with augmented violence. Innocent IV., who had been the friend of Frederic, succeded to the papacy; but, as the emperor had foreseen[15], the spirit of the court prevailed over the sentiment of the individual, the same unrelenting animosity continued to be displayed, and Frederic was, just before his death, compelled to exertions, which almost overpowered his antagonist[16].

---

[11] He had sworn to resign the possessions of the countess Matilda, to renounce his claim to the property of deceased prelates, and to make no attempt against the young Frederic, king of Sicily, who was under the guardianship of the pope.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 332.

[12] Abrégé Chron., tome v. p. 456.

[13] Besides resigning the allodial possessions of the countess Matilda, and renouncing his claim to the property of deceased prelates, he re-established the right of appealing to the court of Rome, which had been abrogated by his father, the emperor Henry VI.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 338.

The situation of the papal see was indeed sufficiently alarming[17] to prompt this persevering violence of opposition, for the emperor, while he ruled Germany without a rival, resided almost constantly in the south of Italy, where he continued to hold the government, and exercised a more commanding authority than any of his predecessors. In the beginning of the reign of this prince, the republics of Italy maintained their independence against his pretensions with considerable firmness. Acquainted with the severities, which he had practised in his government of Sicily[18], and probably instigated by the Roman pontiff, they resolved to resist his attempts, and for this purpose renewed, in the year 1225, the confederacy of Lombardy. But when he had returned from the crusade[19], by which he had vainly endeavoured to conciliate the see of Rome, he at length almost effected their entire reduction, so that they humbly solicited to be received into submission. The haughty severity of the emperor, however, determined them to persevere in their struggle to the last extremity, and thus preserved the independence of Italy.

---

[14] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 347, &c. [15] Hist. des Répub. Ital., tome iii. p. 53. This pontiff introduced the red hats of the cardinals.—Révol. d'Italie, tome iv. p. 110. [16] The pope, not thinking himself safe, even at Lyons, whither he had retired, meditated to remove to Bourdeaux, and had demanded of the king of England an asylum in that country.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 364. [17] Hist. des Répub. Ital., tome iii. pp. 3, 4. [18] Annali d'Italia, tomo vii. p. 239.

[19] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 526, &c.

In the mutual contentions of the Italian states, the adverse parties sought assistance and support from the two great interests of the papacy and the German monarchy, which were necessarily in constant opposition. This was the natural operation of the relation, which the imperial dignity had established between Germany and Italy. The ill-arranged connexion generated irreconcileable pretensions; the rival potentates were accordingly committed in a perpetual hostility; and the inferior states found in their contention the most favourable opportunity of establishing their own independence. As the connexion exercised similar influences in Germany and in Italy, the distinctions of the German served equally for the Italian parties; and the names of Ghibelin and Guelf[20], of which the former designated the partisan, and the latter the adversary of the imperial power, served in the other case to characterise reciprocally the adversary and the partisan of the papal pretensions. The reign of Frederic II. was the concluding scene of the open contention of these two powers, which, almost a century and a half before his reign, had been begun by pope Gregory VII.[21] The most strenuous efforts were exerted on both sides to obtain a decisive superiority, and the emperor seemed at length to have success within his grasp, when death at once blasted

[20] These became names of parties in Germany, in the year 1141, at an engagement fought between Welf, or Guelf, duke of Bavaria, and Conrad III. of Germany; the former having given his own name as the word of battle, and the latter that of Waiblingen, a small town of the duchy of Wurtemburgh, which had been the chief place of the patrimonial domains of the imperial house of Franconia, and then belonged to the brother of the reigning sovereign, and commander of his armies. The two names became attached to the respective adherents of the duke and the sovereign; they were afterwards employed to designate the two parties of the disaffected and the royalists; and were at length adopted by the Italians, to distinguish the adversaries and the supporters of the imperial authority.—Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 276, 277.

[21] Gregory VII. began his papacy in the year 1073, and Frederic II. obtained the crown of Germany in the year 1212.

his prospect, and nothing remained from his exertions, except a ruinous exhaustion of the energies, by which they had been sustained.

The authority of the sovereign was almost equally shaken in Germany and in Italy by the mighty struggle of this important reign. With Frederic II. was concluded the grandeur of the empire[22], and from his time the foreign dependencies ceased to treat it with respect; in Italy also the authority of the emperors may be considered as ruined in the year 1250, which was the year of his death. The German denomination of the Ghibelin party[23] was indeed retained in Italy under domestic leaders, the first of which, Eccelino da Romano, had originally attached himself to the emperor, but when the affairs of the monarch began to decline, laboured to consolidate his own power, and at the time of the death of Frederic was master of five of the cities of Lombardy[24]. In his government, which lasted thirty-four years, he exhibited an extraordinary combination of tyranny and address, outraging his subjects in general by his cruelty, but attaching to his support the chiefs of his party with unparalleled dexterity. By one of these chiefs, Palavicino[25], he was succeeded in his power, and the Ghibelin, or rather the anti-papal, party was long maintained.

The balance of the Italian parties was in this manner preserved, so long as the weight of the Guelf or papal interest required a counterpoise among the states of Lombardy. The great support of that other party was, however, at length, withdrawn by the removal of the papacy, and Italy was abandoned to the struggles of its numerous states, then exercised in contention. The Roman pontiffs had long endeavoured in vain to establish themselves in the temporal sovereignty of the ancient capital of the empire[26]. There, however, a perpetual jealousy of their encroachments was cherished; and it has been remarked[27], that the ascendency either of the Guelfs or Ghibelins was alike injurious to the interests of the pope, for when the Guelf or popular party obtained the ascendency at Rome, the pope was not more respected than the nobles. Thus it happened that, while the Roman pontiffs, by the force of opinion, were able to cause sovereigns to tremble on their thrones, they were not masters of the city, which was their proper residence. During more than a century they had even been compelled to establish their residence without the Roman city[28], and at length, in the year 1305, the papacy was, by a combination of causes, removed from Italy into France, where, and at Avignon, it remained about seventy-one years.

---

[22] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 365.

[23] Révol. d'Italie, tome iv. p. 139—144.

[24] Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Feltre, and Belluno.—Hist. des Répub. Ital., tome iii. p. 199.

[25] Révol. d'Italie, tome iv. p. 149.

[26] Hist. des Repub. Ital., tome iii. pp. 166, 167.

[27] Révol. d'Italie, tome iv. p. 153.

In this interval of fifty-five years, intervening between the death of Frederic II. and the removal of the papacy, the Roman see had very early attained its great object in the struggle, the dissolution of the dangerous connexion of the Sicilian kingdom with the German empire, which threatened it not only with a power encompassing its little territory, but also with the continued residence of the emperor within the limits of Italy. Innocent IV., who had been forced by Frederic II. to seek safety in Lyons[29], endeavoured in vain to avail himself of the opportunity presented by the death of that prince, for annexing to his see the kingdom of Sicily[30]. Disappointed in this primary project of ambition, he then conceived the design of assigning it to some prince as a fief of the church. Alexander IV., the successor of Innocent, to accomplish the latter scheme, negotiated with the two courts of France and England. It was effected by Clement IV., who, in the year 1265, concluded an arrangement in favour of Charles of Anjou, clogged with conditions so burdensome[31], that they rendered the new sovereign but the vassal of the Roman see.

---

[28] In Anagni, Perugio, Viterbo, Assisi, and other adjacent cities. Innocent IV., in the year 1254, was ordered by the Romans to return to Rome.—Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. p. 170.

[29] This city was comprehended within the empire, and was the only territory, which it possessed on the western side of the Rhone and the Saone; but the archbishop and chapter enjoyed the power of the count of Lyons.—Etat de la France, tome ii. p. 364. Lond. 1727. Lyons was taken from the archbishop by the French, in the year 1309.—Henault's Chron. Abridgm.

[30] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. pp. 128—145.

[31] 1. That in failure of the descendants of Charles, the crown should revert to the see of Rome; 2. that it should not be

It soon appeared that the remedy was itself a subject of apprehension, for the new dynasty became formidable to that very see, by the assistance of which it had been established. This danger also was removed, and the safety of the papacy secured, in the year 1282, when the island of Sicily was detached from the Italian territory of the Sicilian crown, and constituted a separate kingdom under a Spanish sovereign.

Here, it might be supposed, should naturally have terminated the agitations of the Roman see, the imperial power having been long before driven out of the field, Sicily and its Italian provinces having been separated from the German empire, and the division of these territories having even precluded any danger from this other quarter. But to the free action of the system of the Italian republics it was important that the pontiff, equally as his adversary the emperor, should be withdrawn from Italy, and that these republics should thus be abandoned to themselves.

This important movement appears to have been in some degree a consequence of the establishment of a French family on the throne of Naples, but to have been also much influenced by the peculiarities of individual characters. Its primary cause was doubtless the appointment of cardinals made by pope Celestin V.[32], in the year 1294. This weak old man, who had been a hermit, named at the desire of Charles II. of Naples twelve new cardinals, not one of whom had been born within the ecclesiastical state, but three were natives of the Sicilies, and seven were Frenchmen. In less than the space of six months Celestin discovered how unfit he was for his exaltation, and resigned his dignity, which was bestowed upon Boni-

compatible with that of the empire, or with the dominion of Lombardy or Tuscany; 3. that a white palfrey, and eight thousand ounces of gold, should be given annually as a tribute; 4. that three hundred horsemen should be maintained three months in every year for the service of the church; 5. that Benevento and its territory should be ceded to the Roman see; and 6. that all ecclesiastical immunities should be preserved.—Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. p. 355.

[32] Ibid. tome iv. p. 80.

face VIII. With all the inflexible obstinacy of Hildebrand, but without his ability, Boniface, who had ascended the papal throne at the age of seventy-seven, prepared to assert his claim to be respected as the representative of the ancient Cæsars[33], and the real emperor of the west. In the course, however, of his fantastic enterprises he encountered Philip *the fair* of France, a prince not at all disposed to be intimidated by his pretensions[34]; the states general of that kingdom, then for the first time assembled, supported the resistance of their sovereign, though they contented themselves with appealing to a future pope, and a future council; and the extreme vexation of the pontiff, occasioned not merely by the disappointment of his ambitious hopes, but also by the attempts of the emissaries of Philip to secure his person, put a period to his existence about nine years after his elevation. As it had before been an object of the court of Naples, so was it from this time the policy of the French government, to acquire the control of the papacy; and this was effected, after a short intervening pontificate, by the advancement of a French prelate, who assumed the name of Clement V. This pontiff, who had been archbishop of Bourdeaux, never visited Italy, but caused himself to be crowned at Lyons, and in the year 1308 established his residence at Avignon[35].

[33] When Albert of Austria had vanquished and slain Adolphus of Nassau, and had caused himself to be crowned king of the Romans in his place, the old pontiff refused to acknowledge him, and placing a crown on his own head, and grasping a sword, exclaimed, 'I am Cæsar, I am emperor, I will defend the rights of the empire.'—Hist. des Répub. Ital., tom. iv. pp. 135, 136.

[34] He even dispatched an emissary to Anagni, where Boniface resided, apparently with the design of causing him to be assassinated. The emissary and his party, awed by the pontiff, shrunk from the attempt; but he died soon afterwards in a frenzy occasioned by the outrage.—Ibid., pp. 146—150.

[35] The territories of the count of Toulouse had been seized for heresy, a crusade having been undertaken against him by the French government. While the greater part of these estates was acquired by the crown of France, the county of Venaissin was assigned to the pope, as his share of the spoil. In the year 1234 the county was restored to the count of Toulouse, at the instance of the emperor and the king of France; but at the end of forty years it was again ceded to the pope by the king of France, as inheritor of the rights of the counts of Toulouse.—Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, pp. 270, 271. Avignon, though included within the limits of the Venaissin, belonged

From this time the chief bishop of the western church continued to exhibit an example of non-residence until the year 1377, a period which has been denominated the seventy years captivity.

The successive removal of the emperor and the pontiff from the scene of those Italian struggles, which they had served to excite and to maintain, but would at this time have obstructed, may perhaps be justly compared to the fall of the flower-leaves of a plant, which inclose the seed-vessel until the seed is formed and matured. Now that we have followed thus far this curious process of political vegetation, it may be interesting to look back, and to trace from its original the seminal principle of civic freedom, which was in this manner gradually disclosed.

It is a very remarkable fact, that the republican constitutions of the municipal communities of the ancient empire had been revived by Majorian within the last twenty years of its existence[36], as if before its dissolution preparation were then made for the resuscitation of this organic principle of its original frame. The object of its restoration appears to have been an improved collection of the tributes, which had been before intrusted to extraordinary commissions; but the effect must have been to preserve and to transmit to other ages the institutions of liberty. Long indeed did the principle of freedom lie dormant and inactive, overwhelmed by the successive violences, to which the towns of Italy were subjected, in consequence of the memorable suppression of the western empire; but at length it was once again brought into action, and it is a fact particularly deserving observation, that the first revival of this germ of freedom was the work of the concluding part of that series of barbarian depredation, by which it had seemed to be crushed in irrecoverable ruin.

When the two successive establishments of the Goths and Lombards had prepared the Italian peninsula for the arrangements, of which it afterwards became the scene,

---

to the royal family of Naples, and was in the year 1348 sold by queen Joanna to pope Clement VI., as she then wanted money for recovering her dominions in Italy.—Tableau des Rev. de l'Europe, tome i. pp. 270, 271. Henault's Chron. Abridgm.

[36] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iii. p. 456.

other barbarians, more rude and fierce in their habits, attacked the rising governments, and waged against them, during the half of a century[37], a war of predatory hostility from both extremities of Italy. The wild tribes of Hungary spread their barbarous warfare chiefly from that northern district, by which Italy communicated with their country[38]; and in the south more especially was the peninsula devastated by tribes of Saracens, who, being far inferior in civilisation to others of the same people[39], were not unsuitable associates of the Hungarian ravagers. Both classes of these invaders were composed of a light and irregular cavalry, incapable of making an effectual assault upon a town protected by a wall. The necessary influence of such a warfare was to cause the restoration of the walls of the Italian towns[40], which had been destroyed by the Lombards in their dislike of such residences; and the restoration of the walls was as necessarily productive of a consciousness of strength and importance, which disposed them to aspire to independence.

The history of modern Italy exhibits a very remarkable succession of republican governments, as if, except in peculiarly favourable circumstances, that species of polity were incapable of a long-continued duration, and it were necessary to provide a series of such governments, that the influence of popular combinations might be transmitted from one part of it to another. Three distinct sets of republics, flourishing in successive periods, are accordingly observable, those of the southern provinces, those of Lombardy, and those of Tuscany, the last of which especially furnished those active principles of social improvement, which seem to have been the object of the entire succession.

While Lombardy and Tuscany were subject to the dominion of the western emperors, or of the kings of Italy, the cities of the southern provinces were placed in the same favourable situation for vindicating their liberties, which was afterwards the fortune of those of the northern, and they availed themselves of the advantage. As the dominion of the Lombards had not been extended in the south beyond the duchy of Benevento, the more southern provinces remaining subject to the declining government of Constantinople, Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi were situated on the confine of the two dominions, and at the same time abandoned in a great degree to their own exertions for their protection. The Grecian emperor, unable to provide for their security by his own power, found it necessary to relax his pretensions[41], and to suffer their municipal institutions, which had never been entirely abrogated, to resume their authority. The spirit of independence, thus originally excited, was brought into action in the controversy about the worship of images, which, as it gave a beginning to the independence of the papacy, was also the occasion of the first efforts of resistance in those communities to the government of Constantinople[42]. They continued to admit the duke, who was sent from that court, but, as it had been necessary to tolerate among them the favourite superstition, the republican spirit was encouraged and confirmed.

---

[37] The Hungarians first entered Italy in the year 900, and for the last time in the year 947. The Saracens had entered Italy first about the year 833, and were finally reduced only by the Normans, who established themselves in the southern provinces in the year 1017.

[38] They invaded Italy from Pannonia, having originally issued from the country lying northward from the Caspian Sea.—Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, tome i. pp. 87—89.

[39] These Saracens were a military colony of the Moors of Africa, and bore no resemblance to the civilised subjects of the caliphs.—Hist. des Républ. Ital., tom. i. p. 39.

[40] Ibid. et p. 382.

An avowed independence was first assumed by the people of Amalfi[43]. This city, which had been a dependency of Naples, was reduced by the Lombards of Benevento, and, having in the year 839 availed itself of a favourable opportunity for throwing off that subjection, became from this time a free community, and manifested the influence of liberty in an extraordinary and memorable activity. This, which may be considered as the progenitor of the republics of modern Italy, has generally obtained the credit of bequeathing to the rest of Europe three important legacies, the invention of the mariner's compass[44], which opened the navigation of the ocean, the discovery of the lost Pandects of Justinian[45], which revived the knowledge of jurispru-

---

[41] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. p. 224. [42] Ibid. pp. 231, 232.

[43] Ibid. pp. 248—251. [44] The attractive power of the magnet was known to the ancients. Its polarity is believed to have been discovered in the twelfth century, though said to have been mentioned by Aristotle in a treatise concerning stones, which is no longer extant, and perhaps never existed. The invention of the mariner's compass has been attributed to the Chinese, from whom Marco Paulo, the

Venetian traveller, is supposed to have brought it to Europe in the year 1260. This opinion, however, has been rejected on account of the extreme imperfection of the Chinese navigation in that early period, Sumatra and islands near to China not having been discovered. It appears indeed to have been mentioned, under the name *mariniere*, by Guyot de Provins, in a French poem, towards the middle of the twelfth century. The cardinal Jacques de Vitry, who lived towards the year 1200, has spoken expressly of the magnetic needle in his history of Jerusalem. Brunetto Latini, a Florentine, in a French work named *Tresor*, has described the compass as used in France in his time, or before the year 1294, in which he died. These authorities refer the compass, however imperfect in its construction, to the time of the earlier voyagers of the crusaders, which followed closely after the discovery of the polarity of the magnet. The chronicle of France accordingly intimates the use of the compass, under the name *marinette*, towards the time of the first of these expeditions undertaken by Louis IX.; and Hugues de Bercy, a contemporary of that prince, speaks of it as an instrument then well known in that country. For these reasons the credit of the invention must be denied to Flavio de Melfi, or Flavio Gioia, a Neapolitan, who is commonly said to have constructed the first compass about the year 1302, on account of which the province of Principato, in which he was born, bears one of these instruments for its arms. It appears probable that the citizen of Amalfi only invented a method of suspending the compass, so that it should preserve a horizontal position, instead of setting the needle to float in water, which was the contrivance of the French *mariniere*. The *fléur-de-lys* of the compass confirms the French original of this most important instrument—Encyclop., art. *Boussole*. Dissert. sur. l'Origine de la Boussole, par M. Dom-Alb. Aguni. Paris, 1805. Chamber's Dict., art. *Compass*. Mr. Davis has lately remarked on the part of the Chinese, that in a dictionary published in the reign of Kâng-hi, (not the imperial work which goes by his name) it is stated, that under the the Tsin dynasty (previous to A.D. 419) ships were steered to the south by the magnet; and contends for the originality of their compass, partly because they refer the needle to the south, partly because they have combined with it their most ancient astrological notions. The Chinese, etc. vol. ii. pp. 234, 235.

[45] Amalfi was taken by the Pisans in the year 1135, and the famous copy of the Pandects is said to have been found there on this occasion. The story however has been questioned both by Muratori and by Tiraboschi. It was first mentioned more than a century and a half after the capture of Amalfi, the earlier chronicles, both of the Pisans and of the countries adjacent to Amalfi, which speak of the pilgrimage of that city, being silent in regard to a prize, which should have excited considerable interest. It is undisputed that the Pisans have during many ages possessed the most ancient copy now existing. In France however Ives de Chartres, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth cen-

dence, and a code of maritime regulations[46], which was the beginning of the ordinances of the extended and complicated system of modern commerce. The last however is the only one now generally admitted by historians, for it is certain that the people of Amalfi can only have improved the mariner's compass, and rendered it more commodious, and the story of the discovery of the Pandects rests on very questionable authority.

History has recorded but few particulars of these early republics of southern Italy, for they existed in a period of barbarism and confusion, which has allowed scarcely more to reach our knowledge[47], than an indistinct memorial of their population, their commerce, and their opulence. After a lapse of three ages they were attacked by the Normans, who erased their names from the list of nations[48], and we find them now but in the obsolete records of obscure and almost forgotten times, where notwithstanding they must be for ever interesting, as they fill up the genealogy of freedom.

The spirit of independence, which had manifested itself in the commercial activity of the republics of Campania, was communicated by the combined influences of commerce and example to the cities of northern Italy, among which accordingly Pisa[49] and Genoa were the first which shook

---

tury, has spoken of a copy of that work ; and Muratori has shown, that the work existed in Italy in the eighth, before which time that country had suffered its chief depredations.—Hist. Litt. d'Italie, par Ginguené, tome i. pp. 154—157. Paris, 1811. The laws of Justinian were published in the three works named the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*, between the beginning of the year 528 and the close of 533, to which the *Novels* were subsequently added. There was an earlier code of Roman law digested by the order of Theodosius the younger, who died in the year 438.

[46] These laws acquired the same authority in the Mediterranean, which had been anciently possessed there by those of Rhodes, and which two ages afterwards was allowed on the ocean to those of Oleron.—Hist. des Repub. Ital., tome i. p. 251.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Amalfi was reduced by Roger, the first king of Sicily, immediately after he had been crowned in the year 1130 ; Capua in the year 1137 ; and Naples in the following year. While Amalfi was sinking under the increasing power of the Normans, some of the citizens laid in Palestine the foundation of the order of Malta, which afterwards inherited its maritime power, and became the depository of the chivalrous spirit of Europe.—Ibid., pp. 293—307.

[49] Venice was never subject to that empire.

off the yoke of the western empire. Commerce had already given importance to these two cities, and Pisa, which was not, like Genoa, separated by a wild tract of mountains from the adjacent country, appears to have attained to considerable power so early as[50] in the year 871, whereas the latter became adequate to its own protection only at the conclusion of the tenth century[51]. About the latter time these two trading cities began to assert their independence. Pisa[52] succeeded to the empire of the sea, which Amalfi and Naples had lost, and, favoured by the advantages of its internal communication with the rich plain of the Arno, long maintained a superiority over its more northern rival, to which however it was at last compelled to yield[53]. The struggle between these two republics was the discipline, by which Genoa was formed to be an antagonist worthy of the great republic of the Adriatic, with which it afterwards contested the prize of maritime supremacy.

Pisa and Genoa, which caught from the republics of Campania the example of independence, were respectively connected with the two great provinces of northern Italy, Tuscany and Lombardy; but they flourished in a contrary order, Pisa having at first maintained a superiority over Genoa, but Tuscany having, on the contrary, been later than Lombardy in attaining to liberty. Pisa appears to have been raised to an earlier eminence by her easier communication with a fertile country, Genoa to have ultimately triumphed in the struggle of rivalry by the advantage of local security, and the necessity of commercial exertion even for procuring the means of subsistence. The Genoese, pressed closely on the one side by a rugged tract of barren mountains[54], and bordered on the other by a sea destitute of fish, possessed as the sole foundation of their power a secure and capacious harbour.

As the liberty of southern Italy had been generated amidst the mutual opposition of the Lombards of Benevento and the Greek empire, and afterwards of the two empires, so was the liberty of the north favoured by that other contention of the western empire and the papacy. The latter, as it was maintained with much more vigorous exertions, was fitted to excite a more energetic spirit of freedom.

---

[50] In that year the prince of Salerno, when besieged by the Saracens, intrusted the defence of a part of the walls of that city to a body of two thousand Tuscans, who were then in it. These must have been Pisans.—Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. p. 338, note. [51] Ibid., p. 343. [52] Ibid., p. 296. [53] Ibid., p. 357. [54] Hist. des Républ. Ital., p. 342.

When the imperial dignity was connected with the government of France, the cities of northern Italy were not prepared for any effort of independence, and, when it was enjoyed by Italian princes, it pressed upon the cities with too near an authority; but, when it became attached to the crown of Germany, the cities had acquired importance, and the government was remote, so that both circumstances then concurred to give a beginning to liberty. We accordingly find, that the reign of the first of the German emperors was distinguished by concessions, which laid the foundation of the republican constitutions of northern Italy. Otho I., who had been advanced to the imperial dignity in the year 962[55], was sensible that the stability of his Italian dominion could be secured only by placing it on a basis of freedom, and therefore, encouraged the citizens of every city to form for themselves a municipal government, by which they should control the power of their count. The counts, who were often also bishops, were almost all Italians. The emperor, therefore, could place little dependence on their attachment, and it was obviously his policy to create among the citizens a new power, by which they might be restrained. He did not, indeed, trust entirely to this policy, for he committed the most important fiefs to Germans, or at least to Italians who had given him proofs of their fidelity; but the removal of the ancient feudatories necessarily shook the authority of the government, and enabled the cities to maintain the struggle of their independence with greater advantage.

So long as the family of Otho possessed the thrones of Germany and the empire, the cities of Italy manifested no disposition to assert a more complete enfranchisement. Twenty-five of the forty years, during which that dynasty possessed the imperial dignity, being passed[56] by those princes without the limits of Italy, the states of that country unavoidably assumed the regulation of their own concerns, and the cities began practically to enjoy a municipal independence, with which they were contented. In the year 1002, the extinction of that family gave occasion to a civil war, in which they found an opportunity of making trial of their strength, and ascertaining that they did not stand in need of a foreign protector. The succession of another dynasty on the thrones of Germany and the empire accordingly presented the sovereign, not as the protector, but as the adversary of the liberty of the cities. The Italians, considering themselves as discharged from their connexion with the German monarchy by the extinction of the family of the Othos, chose Ardoino marquess of Ivree to be king of Lombardy; and the new dynasty of Germany, regarding this defection as a rebellion, resolved to chastise the revolters, who were accordingly constrained to employ against them the force, which liberty had supplied.

---

[55] Hist. des Républ. Ital., p. 94, etc.

[56] Ibid., tome ii. p. 102, etc.

Here began the general struggle of the cities of northern Italy. Pisa and Genoa had been free from the conclusion of the tenth century, and Venice had never been subject to the western empire, and from the earliest period of its existence, had enjoyed a real independence of that of the east, though some appearance of subordination continued to be exhibited[57] to the year 1123; but in the other cities of northern Italy the effort to assert their independence only began at the commencement of the eleventh century. In that century, however, as in the preceding[58], the north of Italy had scarcely an historian; and we are forced to content ourselves with knowing, that in the twelfth century the cities of that country were in possession of freedom. This freedom was not indeed, even then, formally maintained, for at the peace of Constance, concluded but seventeen years before the termination of that century, the emperor was acknowledged as the head of the confederation, by which he had been reduced to conditions; but the Lombard republics[59] may be considered as legally recognised by that treaty, though in professed subordination to the paramount authority of the empire.

---

[57] The multiplied relations of the Venetians with the crusades gave occasion to misunderstandings between them and the Greeks; and hence, though they had hitherto left it undecided, whether they were the allies or the vassals of the Greek empire, they in this year renounced the deference, which they had been accustomed to observe. —Hist. des Rép. Ital., tome i. p. 363. Abrégé Chron., tome iv. p. 1102.

[58] Hist. des Rép. Ital., tome i. p. 379.

To the Tuscan cities the scheme of independence was first suggested in the year 1197[60] by the Roman pontiff, on occasion of the death of the emperor Henry VI., who had aggrieved them by some extraordinary exactions. The pontiff could not then venture to assert the claims which he derived from the countess Matilda, but contented himself with strengthening the Guelf or papal party, by declaring himself the protector of the liberty of Tuscany.

The republics of Lombardy, long before they attained to independence, had begun to manifest the vices of their popular constitution. During the troubles of the reign of Henry IV.[61] they had silently established their municipal government, and in the very beginning of the reign of his successor, or almost eighty years before the peace of Constance, it became apparent, that they were not less influenced than princes by the love of conquest. To these wars succeeded others between the cities and the nobles, by which the former speedily became subject to masters. The marquisate of Trevisa[62], afterwards one of the continental states of the Venetian territory, was the source from which the usurpation of chieftains began to spread itself over the liberty of the north of Italy. In Trevisa alone of all the northern districts were the hills interspersed among the cities, so that the nobles, who posted themselves on them, were everywhere present to overawe and control the freedom of the citizens, whereas in other districts the nobles, remote from the cities, contented themselves with maintaining the independence of their little principalities. The citizens, however, by degrees were induced to resign their freedom throughout almost all Lombardy[63], to various chieftains, soon after the middle of the thirteenth century.

Two causes appear to have co-operated to change the form of government in the cities of Lombardy, the violence of domestic feuds, and the change of military discipline. Such was the violence of the passions of the people[64], that the administration of criminal justice was considered as almost the only object of government, especially as the multiplicity of distinct communities greatly facilitated the escape of criminals. On this account extraordinary powers were vested in the magistrates, and the path of ambition was opened to their view. The general violence was inflamed at once by the contention of the Guelfs and Ghibelins, and by the feud between the nobles and the plebeians. In this latter strife, as the nobles were united by the numerous and widely extended connexions of considerable families, the plebeians[65] sought in voluntary associations that political strength, which they could not derive from domestic alliances, and thus gave a beginning to those political clubs, which have performed no unimportant part in our own government, and have exercised a momentous influence on the revolution of France. The change of military discipline consisted in the introduction of the use of armour of greater weight. When the nobles had inured themselves to support this extraordinary burthen[66], while the citizens were daily addicting themselves more and more to the very different practices of commerce and manufacture, the whole military force was at once transferred to the former. The citizens accordingly, being unable to protect themselves[67], began about the middle of the thirteenth century to hire for their defence bodies of military adventurers, probably composed at first of emigrants and exiles; and it was an unavoidable consequence, that republics of traders, estranged from all the habits of a military life, should soon be mastered by the leaders, to whom they had committed the dangerous charge of their protection.

---

[59] Hist. des Rép. Ital., tome ii. p. 246. [60] Ibid., p. 313, etc.
[61] Ibid., tome ii. p. 2. [62] Ibid., p. 281-283. [63] Ibid., p. 255.
[64] Ibid., p. 256.

---

[65] Gilds or clubs existed among the Anglo-Saxons; but they seem to have been friendly associations for mutual assistance in regard to various pecuniary exigencies, combined with much conviviality.—Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iv. ch. 10. The modern British clubs have united the political with the social character.

[66] In the fifteenth century it had become so great, that a horseman, when he had been overthrown, was unable to rise again.—Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. p. 266. [67] Ibid., pp. 269-271. The practice prevailed among the republics of ancient Greece, as among those of modern Italy; but the *condottieri* of ancient Greece do not appear to have discovered the policy, which among the more commercial Italians, at length rendered battles little more than the play of children.

The violence of party took from the people the jealousy of freedom, and the military revolution took from them the power, by which it might be maintained.

The pre-eminence, which Milan possessed among the cities of Lombardy, was in Tuscany enjoyed by Florence, which, however, far better merited the distinction by the memorable services rendered to policy, literature, and art. In the latter the spirit of democracy was indulged to the utmost excess, since not only, as in other cities[68], the nobles were excluded from the capacity of discharging civil offices, but they were even in some degree put out of the protection of the laws; and in the same spirit even annual elections of the executive council were considered as returning at much too distant intervals, and six times in every year its twelve members were supplied by election. Such a system was eminently fitted to bring into activity all the powers of every individual, for every mind must have been perpetually exercised about its ever recurring competitions, and every citizen must have felt, that as he possessed the power of frequently influencing the public measures, almost every one might expect at some time to be personally concerned in the government. This extreme democracy[69] is ascribed to the nature of the territory, which, though not mountainous, was hilly, and, therefore, did not allow the same facility to the operations of the cavalry of the nobles, as the plains of Lombardy. Though however Dante, who had suffered by exile[70], has described Florence as a city, in which what had been determined in October, subsisted with considerable difficulty until the middle of November, the external policy of the state appears to have been maintained with an extraordinary degree of steadiness and consistency. This was the result of its political situation, which rendered the support of the Guelf party necessary to its independence.

---

[68] By the *Ordinamenti della Giustizia*, established in the year 1292, thirty-seven of the noblest families of Florence were excluded for ever from the chief magistracy, and common report was declared to be a sufficient proof of any crime against any individual of the number; and the magistracy was empowered to add to this list any other family, which should imitate their conduct.—Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iv. pp. 65, 66.

[69] Ibid., tome iii. pp. 285, 286.

[70] Il Purgatorio, canto vi.

Florence first attracts the attention of the student of modern history in the year 1215[71], when a feud, casually excited by a dissension of a merely domestic nature[72], was begun, which continued to rage during thirty-three years. The expulsion and restoration of an entire faction in the issue of this contention, compelled the republic to assume the principal concern in the wars of Italy. In the year 1250, the government assumed a popular form. Amidst the tumult of sedition a constitution was framed[73], which gave to the people a consciousness of strength: they immediately sought to draw all Tuscany into the party of the Guelfs, to which themselves were attached; and during ten years, one of which was distinguished by the name of the year of victories, they performed the most splendid achievements. In the year 1282[74], the government received the form, which it bore to the ruin of the republic.

The latter part of the thirteenth century has been characterised as the heroic age of modern Italy[75]. Dante, who was born in the year 1265, placed in the year 1300 his supposed descent to the infernal regions, and has described himself as encountering there the generation preceding his own, as the objects of his commendation, or his blame. This then is the period, which has been consecrated by the genius of the great poet of Italy. The student of history must therefore feel that, in approaching it, he is going to tread no ordinary ground, and, dazzled by the splendours of poetry, he is disposed to attribute to it an importance, which it does not possess. The thirteenth century, though ennobled by the genius of the poet, was not the age, in which Florence rendered its distinguished services to modern Europe, for it was but in the middle of that century, that this republic commenced its career of activity. Yet, even within the period now considered, a political combination appears to have been devised by the Florentines, which has exercised an important influence in modern states. As a jealousy of the nobles was a fundamental principle of their popular constitution, and the inferior orders were composed of persons engaged in various occupations of commerce and manufacture, it was an obvious policy to unite into associations, invested with political privileges, the several descriptions of the citizens[76], and accordingly in the year 1266 seven corporations were formed, each of which had its own civil and military officers. Mercantile corporations therefore, with all their various rights and authorities, even to the dominion of the vast empire of India, may trace their formation to the industry and liberty of the Florentine republic. Milan, in the same spirit of opposition to the nobles, originated popular clubs; but Florence, much more engaged in commercial industry, gave being to the more regular organisation of societies of traders and artisans.

---

[71] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome ii. p. 341. [72] A young man, of a family attached to the Guelfs, had engaged to marry a young woman, of a family connected with the Ghibelins, but by the artifice of the mother of another young woman, was induced to violate this engagement, and marry the daughter.—Ibid., pp. 345-347; tome iii. pp. 174, 175. [73] Ibid., p. 178, &c. [74] Ibid., tome iv. pp. 53-55. The government had been intrusted to fourteen persons, of whom eight were Guelfs, and six Ghibelins; but it being perceived that this council was too numerous for unanimity, and that, by its very composition, it was subject to the agitations of party, and the people also being offended by the admission of gentlemen into it, a new council of six was formed exclusively of citizens, obliged to lodge and eat together, during the two months of their presidency, and not permitted to absent themselves from the palace. [75] Ibid., tome ii. p. 248.

The Italian republics may be thought to possess a just claim to the merit of having originated that great improvement of modern government, the introduction of representatives elected by the people, and acting in their place. But the representative policy of modern states appears to belong rather to the Gothic or German, than to the Italian system. The mode of election belonging to the former was more popular than in the republics of Italy, in all which it was intrusted either to the magistrates[77], to a small number of electors chosen for the purpose, or even to the decision of lots, it being in truth among the latter a contrivance rather for the distribution of power among various claimants, than for the representation of various portions of the people. The Italian republics indeed were not exercised in the business of legislation[78], and their constitutions accordingly present no valuable example of deliberative assemblies. From the jurisprudence of the ancient empire, the Italians had contracted habits of submission to legal authority; the consideration of law was therefore abandoned to professional lawyers, instead of being submitted to deliberative assemblies; and the due exercise of the judicial power was the chief object proposed in the constitution of their governments. Distracted moreover by the domestic dissensions of their different orders, and by the external contentions of the two great parties of Italy, they were necessarily incapable of forming models of wise administration, though admirably fitted for that, which appears to have been their special destination, the strong excitement of the active principles of society.

---

[76] Twelve corporations were thus formed; but the right of having consuls, captains, and a standard, was at first confined to the seven denominated the *greater*, which were, 1. the lawyers; 2. merchants, trading in foreign cloths; 3. bankers; 4. manufacturers of wool; 5. physicians; 6. manufacturers of silk and mercers; and, 7. furriers. The inferior arts were those of 1. retailers of cloths; 2. butchers; 3. shoemakers; 4. masons and carpenters; and 5. farriers and locksmiths.—Ibid., tome iii. p. 374. The Anglo-Saxons had gilds constituted for managing concerns of commerce; but these, like the others mentioned in note 65, appear to have been associations of individuals for their mutual accommodation, without any political character or privileges. Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iv, ch. 10.

In this review of the Italian republics, Venice has not been considered, because that government was wholly abstracted from the interior concerns of Italy, until the period at this time considered had been terminated. The Venetian republic possessed indeed a character wholly peculiar, being distinguished by an extraordinary stability from the agitated and transitory communities of the adjacent country. Formed from the wreck of the ancient empire of Rome, and subsisting unconquered[79] to the great revolution of our own age, it alone has connected the present time with antiquity[80], and thus united the two periods of human improvement. As it was distinct in its character, so was it separate in its history, being long engrossed by foreign enterprises of commerce or history, so that it was rather an external organ, than an immediate member of the combinations of Italy.

---

[77] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. pp. 291, 292. [78] Ibid., tome i. p. 355 [79] It was occupied by the French in the year 1797, when the government had subsisted during thirteen hundred and forty-five years. [80] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. p. 310.

The local circumstances, which afforded an asylum to those, who fled from the ravages of Attila, gave being to Venice in the year 452[81], and seem also to have determined, by a slow and gradual operation, the aristocratic constitution of government, which so much contributed to its stability. Though there were nobles among the Venetians[82], they could not, as in the other states, assume at once an offensive superiority, because, amidst the *lagunes*, there was not room for the cavalry, by which alone their superiority was maintained over the inhabitants of towns. The original nobles of the Venetian state were therefore moderate and cautious through a consciousness of weakness; the original government was accordingly permitted to assume a form of even democratic equality without opposition from the nobility; and when the external dangers of the state had created a necessity of conjoining with the democracy the controlling power of a duke, or doge, it was not difficult for the nobles, by slow and imperceptible advances, to substitute their own authority for the incongruous combination. A doge was constituted in the year 697[83], when the state was at once harassed by internal dissension, and pressed from without by the Slavians of Dalmatia, and by the Lombards. The limitations of the power of the doge were begun in the year 1032[84], when two counsellors were appointed for this purpose. In the year 1172, a council of four hundred and eighty citizens, annually elected, was constituted: this body soon usurped the nomination of those electors, by whom it was to be renewed, all other nominations having been referred to it; and at length in the year 1315, the elections were abrogated by a formal decree, which closed the council against all new families.

---

[81] Some refer the commencement of Venice to the invasion of the Visigoths, in the year 421. Sagorninus, the most ancient historian of Venice, refers it to the invasion of the Lombards in the year 568.—Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, tome i. p. 242, note 1. Both, probably, contributed. [82] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. pp. 286-294. [83] Ibid., p. 323. The annual ceremony of espousing the Adriatic was introduced in the year 1167, when the Roman pontiff, Alexander III., who had taken refuge in Venice, added to his spiritual benedictions a grant of the dominion of that sea, which he gave to the doge as a spouse.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 302.

[84] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. p. 287, etc.

To this aristocracy, or oligarchy, the people appear to have been reconciled by the strictly impartial administration of justice, in which respect it was especially important, that the chancellor was always selected from the commons. The government of Venice thus began with democracy, and proceeded through a mixture of monarchy to an aristocracy, while the other governments of Italy began with an ill-combined union of aristocracy and democracy, and therefore naturally ended in monarchy.

The Venetians, considering themselves as Romans[85], shrunk from all communication with the invaders of Italy, and continued, even to the year 1123, to cherish a connexion with the surviving empire of the east. They were accordingly estranged from the internal concerns of the peninsula, until they had attained to a considerable degree of political importance, the first struggle, in which they were engaged, being with the Slavians, who, in the reign of the emperor Justin, had established themselves in Dalmatia. The Slavians of that neighbouring territory, having adopted the maritime and piratical habits of the ancient Illyrians, grievously molested the commerce of the Venetians. The latter, however, though they had fled by land, had learned to encounter danger on the sea. They boldly attacked their antagonists, and pursued them into their retreats; and the final result of a protracted contest was that the little republic of the *lagunes* became the mistress of the maritime towns of Istria and Dalmatia in the year 997[86], at which time Pisa and Genoa were beginning to assert their independence.

Very different was the tranquil history of Venice from the agitated and changing fortunes of its rival Genoa; and the revolution[87], which established the aristocracy of the former, was even effected about the same time, in which a contrary revolution established at Genoa the power of a prince. We can however discover a peculiarity of function, which separates the case of the former from all analogy to that of the latter government. Genoa appears to have been but a subordinate and occasional instrument, first for exciting and disciplining the emulation of Venice, as it had itself been excited and disciplined by the rivalry of Pisa, and then for transferring the industry of Italy to some of the more western countries of Europe by the very agitations, by which its own power was exhausted and ruined. Venice, on the contrary, situated in the centre of the principal countries of the continent, was permanently, and to an important degree, instrumental to the general system, though its importance was diminished in later ages, as that system became more extended, and furnished with new and different organs.

---

[85] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. pp. 325, 326. [86] Ibid., pp. 333—337, 338. [87] Ibid., p. 329.

For the completion, as it seems, of the republican system of Italy, the papacy was withdrawn from that country, and established in France during a very long period. But before this important removal was effected, the ecclesiastical dominion of the papacy had been completed, Innocent III., who was elected to the papal throne in the year 1198, having perfected the labours of Gregory VII. This pontiff first formally ordained, that the doctrine of transubstantiation should be maintained by the church[88]; he first established the tremendous tribunal of the inquisition[89]; and the mendicant orders of the friars[90], then newly constituted, were taken under his protection, as a description of forces best suited to the exigency of the time. The darkness of barbarism had then begun to be a little dissipated by the returning rays of civilisation, and the moral feelings of men began to be offended by the enormity of ecclesiastical abuses. It was therefore necessary to employ some efficacious measures for repelling the aggressions, with which the papacy was menaced, and the measures of Innocent were well adapted to the crisis. To resist the alarming progress of reason, those who adhered to the church, were bound in the spell of a doctrine, which sets reason at defiance; the adversaries of the church were at the same time subjected to a jurisdiction, which disregarded all rules of justice; and a host of mendicants was encouraged to oppose its spurious self-denial to the simple austerity of the separatists. The interior authority of the clergy was also effectually maintained by the first ordinance enjoining auricular confession as a positive duty[91]. The Roman satirist[92] had long before perceived the use, which might be made of such a curiosity; and the papacy, from the time of Innocent III., has enjoyed all its advantage.

---

[88] In the second council of Lateran, convened in the year 1215.

[89] In the year 1204, when the numerous sects of separatists from the church of Rome had caused alarm, legates extraordinary were despatched by Innocent III., into the southern provinces of France, where these sects chiefly prevailed, with full authority to extirpate heresy, even by capital punishment. The regular tribunal was established there in the year 1233, by Gregory IX., who committed it to the care of the Dominican friars. The inquisition appears to have been suppressed in France, when it had suppressed the heresies, on account of which it had been introduced. It was introduced into Germany about the year 1231, but the violence of the inquisitor excited such indignation, that after three years it was abolished, and could never be restored,—Schmidt, tome iv. pp. 263—265. In Italy, the region of the papacy, it naturally received an establishment, though even there it was successfully resisted by the Neapolitans, alarmed at the cruelty with which it was administered in Spain, and by the Venetians was admitted only on the condition, that its proceedings should be subjected to the cognisance of lay commissioners. —Giannone, lib. xxxii. cap. 5. Hist. de Républ. de Venise, par Laugier, tome iii. p. 249, &c. Paris 1758. Spain was its peculiar country, the animosity entertained against the conquered Moors, having there given to it peculiar activity and violence. In that country accordingly, an *auto-da-fe* was perpetrated so lately, as in the year 1783.—Townsend's Journey through Spain, vol. ii. p. 91. Dubl. 1792. It was in the year 1543 re-established at Rome with autho-

CHAPTER X.

Of the history of southern Italy and Sicily, from the commencement of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the year 570, to the death of Charles II. of Naples, in the year 1308.

Lombardy conquered by the French in the year 774—Sicily invaded by the Saracens, 827—Southern Italy invaded by them, 833—Duchy of Benevento dismembered, 851—Normans established in Italy, 1029—Connexion formed with them by the see of Rome, 1053—Sicily conquered by the Normans, and the Greeks expelled

---

rity sufficient to enable it to suppress the protestant religion in Italy, which required all its activity and violence during twenty years. M'Crie's Hist. of the Reformation in Italy, pp. 229—233. Edinb. and Lond., 1833. Inquisitors had however been constituted, with the power even of capital punishment, by the Theodosian code, published in the year 382.

[90] Mosheim, cent. xiii., part ii. ch. 3.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Scire volunt secreta domûs atque inde timeri.—Juv., sat iii. 113.

from Italy, 1090—Norman dynasty of the two Sicilies begun, 1130—Southern republics suppressed, 1138—German dynasty begun, 1194—Innocent III. pope, 1198—The kingdom transferred to a French prince, 1266—*Sicilian Vespers*, and the kingdom divided into two, that of Naples remaining to the French prince, and that of Sicily being possessed by a prince of Spain, 1282.

A VERY superficial acquaintance with modern history is sufficient to inform us, that these countries have ever been of very subordinate importance, and we are therefore but slightly tempted to inquire into the transactions, of which they have been the theatre. This very consideration however, in the philosophical view of the governments of Europe here proposed, renders the political changes of such countries deserving of examination, inasmuch as these changes, not possessing a primary importance, may be found to be more simply relative to other parts of a general system. The very inferiority of the subject of our inquiry may thus constitute it one of those links of the political system, which afford the best specimens of the theory of historical combination.

Though the territories now under consideration have in modern history been much connected, they are very dissimilar, one portion being continental, and the other an island of considerable magnitude. Of Sicily it was prophetically remarked by the king of Epirus[1], that it was a fit field of contention for the earlier struggles of Rome and Carthage. In modern times its insular character seems to have exercised yet more appropriate functions. Sufficiently spacious for containing a considerable society[2], but not large enough to entitle it to claim a permanent place to itself among the kingdoms of Europe, this island has served in various periods to shelter the powers, which acted from time to time upon the neighbouring provinces of Italy. During two centuries and a half it was the stronghold of the Saracens, from which their incursions were extended over the adjacent peninsula; in this island was formed by Roger the Norman a monarchy, which was afterwards enlarged into the kingdom of the two Sicilies[3];

---

[1] Plutarch, Life of Pyrrhus.

[2] Sicily extends about 170 British miles in length, and 70 in breadth.—Pinkerton's Mod. Geo., vol. i. p. 638.

[3] The kingdom having been founded by Roger, who first established himself in the island, the name of the island

here too was first established by Peter of Aragon a Spanish sovereignty, which was likewise spread over the same continental provinces; and here at length, in the revolutionary war now happily concluded, was protected for a period of returning tranquillity the exiled royalty of Naples. The continental provinces on the other hand, though of more ample dimensions[4], and therefore naturally becoming the seat of any common government, were exposed to the adjacent provinces of central Italy by the entire want of a protecting frontier, and were thus of necessity involved in the political relations of the remainder of the peninsula.

The commencement of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the year 570, was the epoch of the division of the northern and southern provinces of Italy, with the latter part of which division Sicily was connected. The whole of these countries had been possessed by the Goths; and when Narses, the general of the Grecian emperor Justinian, had overpowered that people, they were all alike subjected to the Greek empire: but, the Lombards having been unable to complete their reduction, the maritime cities of the southern provinces, together with the island of Sicily, continued to be dependent on the court of Constantinople.

This division of the Italian provinces has been already represented as having permitted the papacy to emerge from the subordinate situation, which it had hitherto occupied, being enabled by its position between the two rival powers to work out its own independence. The duchy of Benevento indeed, which comprehended nine of the twelve southern provinces of the peninsula[5], was possessed by Lombards, so that this people encompassed the residence of the pontiff. That duchy however long continued separate from the kingdom of the Lombards, and, when it was at last reduced by the Lombard monarch, it was this very combination, so alarming to the Roman see, which drove the pontiff to seek protection from the sovereigns of France, and thus to give being to the original and fundamental combination of the European system. The duchy was, after a long resistance,

---

appears to have been on that account applied also to the continental provinces.

[4] The continental provinces exceed 300 British miles in length, and extend 100 in breadth. Pinkerton, ubi supra.

[5] Giannone, lib. vi. cap. i.

again reduced by Charlemagne, but the conquest was so imperfectly effected, that it still served to cover the more southern provinces, which remained in a nominal subjection to the Greek empire, and in the enjoyment of a real independence.

From the combination thus formed with the French government a considerable time elapsed, in which the decay of that government abandoned Italy to its own internal agitations, and the German monarchy was afterwards employed in preparing itself for the great encounter with the see of Rome. In this long interval the southern provinces of Italy, with Sicily, were subjected to a foreign enemy, whose violences appear to have been instrumental to the progress of Italian policy and improvement.

The Saracens invaded Sicily from Africa in the year 827, and from this island proceeded in the year 833 to ravage the adjacent countries of the peninsula. These invaders were, in the year 839[6], established in the Neapolitan territory, and, in the year 851, had completed the conquest of the adjacent island, except a few fortresses, which were retained by the Greeks to the conclusion of the century. The influence of the violences, to which the Italians were exposed in this hostile vicinage, in conjunction with the contemporary ravages of the Huns, has been represented as consisting in creating a necessity of surrounding the cities with fortifications, which, by inspiring a sentiment of strength and security, disposed them to assert political independence. Another influence of their violences also operated in giving occasion to the dismemberment and dissolution of the great duchy of Benevento. The people of that duchy[7], harassed during twelve years by the Saracens, were forced to solicit the assistance of Louis II., who at that time possessed the kingdom of Italy, or of the northern provinces of the peninsula. The interposition of this prince, however effectual in driving away the Saracens to their own settlement at Bari, was fatal to the integrity of the duchy. Louis proceeded to exercise his power in appeasing the internal dissensions of the Beneventans, and in the year 851 divided the duchy into two parts, one of which retained the name of Benevento, while the other was named the principality of Salerno. The Count of Capua soon revolted against the prince of Salerno, and afterwards the princes of Benevento and Salerno, and the counts of Capua, divided their respective territories among their sons, all of whom struggled to establish their independence.

---

[6] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. pp. 35, 36.

[7] Giannone, lib. v. intr. sez. i.

Denina, with the feeling natural to an Italian, has lamented the destruction of this great principality[8], because, if it had been preserved when the family of Charlemagne declined, it might have served as a rallying point for the people of Italy, and afforded protection to the southern provinces. A little consideration will however discover, that the actual situation of these provinces, though disastrous to themselves, was accommodated to the political balance of the peninsula. In the weakness of the descendants of Charlemagne no countervailing power was required in the south of Italy, neither was it afterwards necessary, when the Italian princes were contending for the succession of the crown of Italy and the imperial dignity. When indeed the Italians had found themselves compelled to bestow these distinctions upon Otho I. of Germany, the power of that prince required a counterpoise, which was accordingly provided in the temporary re-establishment of the authority of the Greek emperor in the south of Italy, and so effectually, that the Greeks of Italy were strong enough to give to the second Otho a decisive defeat.

The temporary restoration of the power of the Greek empire was the result of the jealousy entertained in regard to the new series of German emperors, which prompted those of Constantinople to make extraordinary exertions, in opposing their progress in Italy. When it had served to restrain that progress, it was speedily ruined by the haughtiness and negligence of the Greeks[9], and room was thus made for the formation of the Norman monarchy. That it should have yielded to the ascendency of the Normans, was surely advantageous to Italy, and to the general system of Europe. The degraded slaves of the eastern empire would have been the very worst materials for constituting a new government in western Europe, whereas the Normans brought with them the principles and habits of the

[8] Révol. d'Italie, tome ii. p. 387.

[9] Giannone, lib. viii. cap. iii.

feudal polity, which involved a rude kind of independence unknown to the Greeks, but congenial to the governments of the west.

Though almost the whole of the time, which intervened between the first arrival of the Saracens and the establishment of the Normans, was a period of political weakness, it was by no means destitute of immediate and present improvement. It has been already remarked that in this period southern Italy was ennobled by those earlier republics, which presented the example of liberty to the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany. It may now be added, that the same connections with the Greeks and the Saracens, from which the distractions of this country originated, formed a twofold communication of principles of refinement, which gave to these unhappy provinces their precedency in commercial activity, and in intellectual cultivation. Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi were in those times the only Christian states which had fleets in the Mediterranean[10]; and the last of these cities, outstripping the others in the career of industry, began to possess itself of the valuable traffic of the east: and while Salerno[11], having acquired from the Saracens the knowledge of medicine, became the earliest school of medical science among Christians, the monastery of Monte Cassino[12] was distinguished for its attention to various kinds of literature, to the philosophy of the Saracens, and to the classical learning of the Greeks.

The establishment of the Normans, however considerable in its consequences, appears to have been the result of an event merely contingent. About the year 1002[13] some pilgrims of that nation, in their progress to Jerusalem, landed in the south of Italy. Arriving at a time, when this country was distracted by internal wars, the hardy strangers were soon distinguished as powerful auxiliaries. Fifteen years elapsed before the arrival of another party, the leader of which had been compelled to abandon Normandy, having killed a chieftain, who had boasted of the seduction of his daughter; a devout desire of performing a pilgrimage to Mount Gargano was assigned as the motive of their voyage, but it was probably a wish to ascertain the truth of reports sent by the earlier adventurers. These, like the former, engaged as auxiliaries in the contentions of the southern provinces, and at length obtained a fixed establishment in a post between Naples and Capua. This little establishment encouraging other adventurers, a third migration was about the year 1035 conducted to the same country, by ten sons of Tancred a Norman count, from whom descended the conquerors of the two Sicilies. The Greek court afforded the occasion of the conquest, having first employed the Normans as auxiliaries for recovering Sicily from the Saracens, and having then treated them with neglect, while the absence of the Greek troops, withdrawn from the continent for the Sicilian war, favoured their efforts in Italy.

---

[10] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. pp. 648, 650. [11] Giannone lib. x. cap. xi. sez. 3. [12] Ibid., sez. 2. This author remarks, that the differences between the emperors of the west and the popes, and between the Greek and Latin churches, incited men to apply their minds to study. The monastery of Cassino had been built by Benedict in the year 529.—Ibid., lib. iii. cap. vi. sez. 4. [13] Révol. d'Italie, tome iii. p. 259.

The Roman pontiffs were at first jealous of the power of the Normans, as they had before been apprehensive of the ascendency of the Lombards, and accordingly were desirous of restraining their progress. But it was soon discovered, that their respective interests might be best promoted by co-operation; and it appears indeed that the Norman principality was a state raised up at the very crisis, in which its support had become indispensable to the safety of the papacy. Leo IX.[14], not content with having formed a league of the two empires against the Norman adventurers, led in person an army against them in the year 1053. Having been defeated and taken prisoner, he was treated by his conquerors with the most devout veneration. The pontiff in return absolved them from the censures, which he had previously pronounced against them, and assumed the right of granting to their leader the investiture of Puglia and Calabria, and of all which he might be able to conquer in Sicily, as of fiefs depending on the see of Rome[15]. The Normans, while they treated the pontiff with extreme respect[16], were careful to avail themselves of all the advantages of their victory. The jealousy of the papal see was therefore still excited, but the embarrassing circumstances of the papacy compelled the pontiffs to be passive spectators of the aggrandisement of the new principality, until at length, in the year 1059[17], Nicholas II., unable to collect an army like Leo, attacked his Norman neighbours with the censures of the church. This proceeding caused the Norman chieftain to court the friendship of the pontiff, as necessary to the security and extension of his power, and Nicholas on the other hand was easily persuaded to accept that of the duke, as the only auxiliary on whom he could rely for support in the approaching contest with the German emperor on the famous question of investitures. The form of the oath, by which the Norman duke confirmed his allegiance to the see of Rome, deserves attention for the impiety, with which the name of Peter is ranked with that of God. He described himself as 'duke of Puglia and Calabria by the favour of 'God and saint Peter, and with the assistance of each the 'future duke of Sicily.' The appointment simply of God would have been understood to imply independence, and it was therefore necessary to join an associate in the work.

---

[14] Hist. des Rép. Ital., tome i. p. 274.

[15] The kingdom of Naples continued to be a fief of the church of Rome in consequence of this investiture, which the Normans willingly accepted, that they

Though the Normans were engaged in war with both empires, they prosecuted their enterprises with scarcely any opposition from either[18], the imperial power of the west being enfeebled by the minority of Henry IV., or occupied by the hostility of Gregory VII., and that of the east being violently assailed by the Turks. The Italian possessions of the Greeks were accordingly, in the year 1061, reduced to a few towns and castles in the adjacent extremity of Italy; and, while the Norman duke himself pursued his successes in Puglia and Calabria, his brother determined to wrest the island of Sicily from the Saracens. The Saracen government of that island was then ripe for destruction.

---

might have a sanction for their conquests.—Hist. des Rép. Ital., tome i. p. 278. Sicily however became independent of the Roman see, when Peter of Aragon, after the *Sicilian Vespers*, dispossessed Charles of Anjou, who was protected by the pope.—Giannone, lib. xxvi. cap. ii.

[16] Ibid., lib. ix. cap. iii. iv.

[17] Ibid., lib. x. introd.

[18] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. pp. 280, 281.

Twenty-six years before the Norman invasion[19] it had been so torn by dissension, that it became divided into a number of petty principalities almost wholly independent; and at the time of the expedition the dissolution of the government had proceeded so far, that each town was the seat of a prince or emir. It was a natural result of these dissensions, that one of the emirs came to Reggio to solicit the assistance of the Normans against his adversary, and thus facilitated their descent. So inconsiderable however was the number of the invaders, and, so imperfect their subordination, that twenty-nine years elapsed before the conquest of Sicily was completed. In the same interval of time the Norman duke had also accomplished the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy, and had reduced the Lombard princes, who governed the divided remains of the great duchy of Benevento. Thus was the establishment of the Normans in the two Sicilies perfected in the year 1080, or fourteen years after the main body of the same enterprising people had effected the conquest of England.

The southern provinces of Italy and the island of Sicily were in this manner reduced by the Normans, Sicily being held as a fief of the duchy of Puglia; and when it shall have been considered, that the memorable struggle of Gregory VII. with the imperial power had begun four years before that event, it will be seen how well it was adjusted in time to the exigency of the church. The support of the Normans was not required in the commencement of that struggle, for a rebellion of the Saxons was the instrument of papal aggression, and sufficiently occupied for a time the attention of the emperor; but when that prince had prevailed against the pontiff, and had even possessed himself of Rome, then the latter found it necessary to solicit the aid of the Norman duke for his deliverance, and to retire for safety into the territory of his protector. This crisis of the papacy[20] occurred in the year 1084, or four years subsequently to the completion of the successes of the Normans. Nor was Gregory the only pontiff, who found a convenient support in the aid of these Normans, for when the son and successor of Henry IV. renewed the contention with the see of Rome, the pontiffs, Paschal II. and Calixtus II., found the Norman princes ever ready to assist them.

---

[19] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. p. 281—285.

[20] Ibid., p. 196. The Normans on this occasion committed great destruction, and from that time the ancient city has remained almost deserted, the population having been removed beyond the Capitol into the Campus Martius. The pope retired to Salerno, where he died in the following year.—Ibid. p. 197.

From the conclusion of this great contest, which was compromised in the year 1122, by the *concordat* of Calixtus II., the support of such a power as that of the Normans ceased to be necessary to the see of Rome; and even after some time the southern government became connected with Germany, and appeared to threaten the existence of that very see, which it had so seasonably protected. The internal situation and external relations of the government of the two Sicilies in this period are now to be considered, that it may be seen, whether it continued to be accommodated to the circumstances, in which it was placed, so as to discharge the functions of its subordinate character.

Robert Guiscard, the Norman duke, who first united into one dominion the Greek provinces of Puglia and Calabria, and the Lombard principalities of Benevento, soon manifested what a disturbing influence would be exercised by a powerful government in this part of the system of Europe. Having been successful in his enterprises against the Greeks in Italy, he was naturally prompted to seek a further gratification of his ambition by attacking them in their own country. In the very following year[21], therefore, he passed the sea, and having invested Durazzo, defeated the army of the Greek emperor, who had come to its relief. He was then, indeed, recalled to Italy by a rebellion, and was afterwards occupied some time in protecting Gregory VII. As soon, however, as he was freed from these engagements, he resumed his enterprise, but died in Cephalonia, when he was beginning his operations. Such must naturally have been the direction of the efforts of any vigorous government, placed thus in the vicinity of weakness and decay; and therefore, if the restoration of Greece was no part of the new system of Europe, it was necessary that the neighbouring government of the two Sicilies should be incapable of indulging the propensity. The project of Robert Guiscard was accordingly arrested, first by the disorders of Italy, and then by his death. The valour of the Normans was afterwards diverted to Palestine, where[22] it furnished themes for the genius of the epic poet of Italy; and the government, except during the short interval necessary for the formation of the monarchy, then sunk into a debility, which rendered it an inoffensive neighbour of the weakness of Greece.

---

[21] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. pp. 287, 288.

The grandson of Robert Guiscard[23] having died without issue in the year 1127, the whole of the dominion of the Normans, which had been previously divided, was inherited by Roger II. great count of Sicily, the son of a count of the same name, who had achieved the conquest of the island. Inflamed with a sense of his own grandeur, he became ambitious of a higher title than that of duke, to which he had thus succeeded[24], and availed himself of the opportunity afforded by a papal schism, to procure from the antipope, whom he supported for this purpose, a grant of the royal dignity. He was not, however, content with the mere title of a king, but laboured to extend and secure his power among his Italian subjects. Amalfi[25] was forced to surrender to him the privileges, which it had continued to enjoy under the Norman government: the barons, who had maintained an almost complete independence, were successively compelled to submission; and Naples, the last of the republics of southern Italy, was subdued in the year 1138, after a most determined resistance. Republican independence was thus abandoned to the northern Italians, and the new monarchy of the two Sicilies was reduced to a uniform structure.

---

[22] Boemond and Tancred, celebrated by Tasso, were the son and nephew of Robert Guiscard. Boemond was a son of Robert by a marriage, the dissolution of which reduced him to bastardy.—Hist. des. Repub. Ital. tome i. p. 289. [23] Ibid., p. 290. [24] The title was confirmed to him by Innocent II., in the year 1139, when he had taken that pontiff prisoner.—Giannone, lib. xi. cap. 3. By a *concordat* concluded with pope Urban II., in the year 1097, Roger had obtained for himself and his successors the quality of *born legate of the holy see*, which gave occasion to the establishment of *the tribunal of the monarchy of Sicily*.—Tableau des Révol. de l'Europe, tome i. p. 124, note 2.

[25] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome i. pp. 295-308.

The Norman dynasty of the Sicilian government, which had been begun in the year 1130, subsisted to the year 1194, or sixty-four years, being then succeeded by Henry VI. of Germany, who had married Constantia, the daughter of the third of the Norman princes. Twenty-four years of that interval had been occupied by the active reign of the founder. The forty following years composed a period not less remarkable for the impotency of the government, and from that time to the accession of Frederic, the son of Henry VI., which occurred in the year 1197, it was distracted by struggles for succeeding to the throne, left vacant by the failure of male issue in the reigning family.

The claim of succession to the Sicilian throne, acquired by the marriage of Constantia, appears to have borne an important relation to the interests both of Italy and of Germany. This claim diverted the emperors from the prosecution of the project, which Frederic I. had formed against the liberty of Lombardy[26]; and even that prince, desirous of availing himself of the assistance of the young republics of that country, in his more distant enterprise, was induced to promote their union, instead of encouraging their dissension, as would otherwise have been his policy. The cities of Germany also found the crisis most favourable to their aggrandisement, the emperors, who were able and enterprising princes, being drawn away from the direction of their domestic administration to the pursuit of a remote object.

It will naturally occur to consider, what at this time became of the balance of Italy, to the support of which the aid of the Normans had been indispensable, and how did the papacy maintain itself, when it was pressed on both sides by the power of its adversary. In other times the equilibrium of Italy would probably have sunk under the power of such a combination, but at this particular time the interests of Italy and the papacy found a resource in the military fanaticism of the age. Frederic I., who, by the marriage of his son, prepared the union of the Sicilies with Germany and the empire, was induced to undertake a crusade, in which he died; and Frederic II., the grandson of the former, who first succeeded to the undisputed possession of the Sicilian throne, was bound by such an engagement in the very commencement of his career[27], and even persuaded to enter into a marriage, which should give him a claim to the throne of Jerusalem[28]. This engagement embarrassed all the efforts of the emperor, nor did his actual fulfilment of it protect him from the hostility of Rome, for the censures, which his reluctance had provoked, followed him to the scene of his triumph in the east[29]. Driven to desperation, he at length almost overpowered the adversary, by whom he was so unrelentingly opposed, when his unexpected death preserved the independence of the papacy.

---

[26] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome ii. pp. 264, 265.

For this renewal of the contention with the empire the Roman see had been prepared, in the year 1198, by the election of a pontiff, Innocent III., in every respect qualified to maintain the cause, of which Gregory VII. had been more than a century before the original champion[30]. Equal to Gregory in purity of character, he was superior to him in literary attainments, as the time in which he governed the church was nearer to the restoration of literature; and, as the part, which he had to support, was rather political than ecclesiastical, so was his conduct actuated rather by the daring ambition of a statesman, than, like that of Gregory, by the misdirected zeal of a monk. It is remarkable, that a similar preparation had been made for this pontiff, as for Gregory, in the forged pretensions of the see of Rome. The decretals of Isidorus, published in the beginning of the ninth century, had laid for Gregory the foundation of the papal supremacy; and the more perfect collection of Gratian, a Benedictine monk of Bologna, framed about the year 1150[31], established for Innocent more distinct principles of ecclesiastical dominion.

Armed with the authority thus furnished by Gratian, Innocent strenuously availed himself of various favourable contingencies for realizing the project of a pontifical empire. In Germany the contention between Philip and Otho IV.

---

[27] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 344. [28] With Yolande, daughter of John de Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem. [29] Under the pretext that he had sailed unabsolved. [30] Gregory VII. had been elected pope in the year 1073. [31] Butler's Horæ Juridicæ Subsecivæ, p. 163.

afforded him an opportunity of interposing in behalf of the latter, whom he afterwards drove from the throne; in England the weakness and the tyranny of John enabled him to trample upon the dignity of the crown; and he induced the king of Aragon to render his dominions subject and tributary to the Roman see[32]. And, while he was thus vigilant and active in extending and strengthening the external power of his see, he was not less careful to secure its temporal foundation. In the very commencement of his papacy he availed himself of a favourable crisis for acquiring an influence over the unsettled government of Rome[33]; and, when he advanced Frederic II. to the dignity of emperor, he obtained from him a renunciation of the long-disputed possessions of the countess Matilda. which was finally executed sixty-six years afterwards by the emperor Rodolph[34].

Frederic, whom the fears of his mother Constantia had consigned to the guardianship of Innocent[35], was considered by him as a prince, with whose pretensions he might awe and control the sovereigns of Germany, but without any intention of uniting the Sicilian monarchy with the empire. When, however, Otho IV., for whom he had procured the German crown, disappointed his expectations, he ventured to place on that throne his ward, the young king of Sicily. He endeavoured to avert the mischief of such an appointment, by stipulating for the resignation of the crown of Sicily; but Frederic contrived to evade the observance of this condition, and it was at length the death of this prince, which preserved the Roman see from subjection. The combination of the Sicilian government with Germany was, indeed, a forced state of things, arising from temporary causes, and suited only to exercise a temporary agency in favouring the interests of the republics of Italy, and of the states of Germany, by distracting the attention of the emperor.

---

[32] Mosheim, cent. xiii., part ii. ch. 2.

[33] The authority of the senate had been definitively acknowledged in the year 1191, by Celestin III., the immediate predecessor of Innocent III.; but in the very next year the Romans suppressed the senate, and, in imitation of other cities, appointed a foreign and military magistrate, whom they intitled the senator, and invested with all the powers of that body. They fluctuated for some time between the government of one, and that of many senators, until, in the year 1207, by the influence of Innocent III., the government was finally vested in a single senator.—Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome ii. pp. 308—310.

[34] In the year 1278. The state of the church then acquired the extent, which it preserved to our own days.—Ibid., tome iii. p. 462.

[35] Ibid., tome ii. p. 336.

The death of the emperor Frederic II., which occurred in the year 1250, gave occasion to the plan of dissolving a combination, which had proved to be so dangerous[36]. The first project of the pontiff, Innocent IV., was to annex to his see the dominions of the Sicilian crown, as fiefs devolved to it by the deposition of Frederic, pronounced in a council assembled at Lyons, where that pontiff had been compelled to seek refuge. He soon, however, discovered that his power was unequal to the enterprise, and that it would be necessary to invite some foreign prince to take possession of the kingdom, as a feudal dependency of the papacy. The ambition of the pontiff was twice frustrated; first, by the efforts of Conrad IV., the son and successor of Frederic II., and then by the resistance of Manfred, an illegitimate son of the same prince, who assumed the government of the Sicilies, first as regent in the name of Conradin the son of Conrad, and afterwards for himself. Thus disappointed, the pontiff endeavoured, but in vain, to engage either the brother, or the son, of Henry III. of England, to undertake the reduction of the kingdom, and finally prevailed with Charles of Anjou[37], the most powerful prince in Europe beneath the rank of a sovereign. This prince was instigated by the ambition of his wife, whose sisters were queens of France, England, and Germany.

It deserves attention, that the king of Aragon[38] had rendered himself objectionable to the pontiff, by forming a matrimonial alliance between his son Peter and a second Constantia, the daughter of Manfred then king of Sicily. This connexion afterwards procured for the Spanish family the government of the insular part of the kingdom; but it contributed to direct the choice of the pontiff to a French prince, and thus gave occasion to the subsequent separation of the two Sicilies into the distinct kingdoms of Sicily and Naples.

---

[36] Hist. des Républ. Ital. tome iii. pp. 128, 145. [37] He was count of Anjou, Provence, Languedoc, and a great part of Piedmont. He was count of Anjou in his own right, and had acquired the rest by marriage.—Giannone, lib. xix. cap. 1. sez. 1. [38] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. pp. 334, 335.

These various enterprises and negotiations were begun in the year 1253, and concluded in the year 1266, when Charles acquired possession of the kingdom, his adversary Manfred having been defeated and slain. It still remained that the king of the two Sicilies should be reduced to a state, in which he should not be formidable to the see of Rome. Charles, the friend of the pontiff, had attained to a degree of power alarming to the independence of the papacy[39]. By the favour of the Roman see he was senator of Rome, imperial vicar in Tuscany, and in this character master of all its cities, governor of Bologna, and, therefore, master also of the Guelf cities of Romagna, protector of the marquess of Este, and thereby ruler of the *marche* of Trevisa, and, moreover, lord of many cities of Piedmont. The burthen of such protection was soon found to be oppressive, and the pope found it necessary to play the emperor Rodolph and the king of Sicily one against the other, thus inducing each to make renunciations favourable to his see. By this policy the king was for a time reduced to his proper territories[40]; but after the death of the pontiff, by whom he had been so controlled, he caused another to be elected, by whom all the precautions of his predecessor were immediately annulled, the king having even fixed the residence of the new pontiff at Viterbo, that he might more conveniently direct his measures. Even Italy, however, did not satisfv the ambition of this prince, who meditated an expedition against the Grecian emperor. But a private individual armed against him the vengeance of the Sicilians, whom he and his French followers had outraged. Sicily was accordingly soon torn from his Italian territories, to constitute under a Spanish dynasty a separate and rival sovereignty; and Charles was thus at once deprived of a large portion of his power, and menaced by the near vicinage of a formidable adversary.

John of Procida, a zealous adherent of the German family of the sovereigns of the Sicilies, was the mover of this important revolution[41]. He despaired of inducing the continental provinces to make any effort in favour of Constantia the daughter of Manfred, because they were subject to the immediate superintendence of the government. Sicily, however, presented a favourable field, not only as being remote from inspection, but because on that account it had been subjected to more grievous oppression. To Sicily he accordingly repaired, and there he laboured indefatigably to collect and concentrate that fury of revenge[42], which the last of outrages had sufficiently excited. From the Greek emperor too, who was apprehensive of the power of Charles, he procured supplies of money, with which he enabled Peter of Aragon to aid the insurrection, in support of the pretension of his queen.

---

[39] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. pp. 456, 457. [40] Ibid., pp. 470-473. [41] Ibid., pp. 477, 478. Charles had removed the royal residence from Palermo to Naples, that he might watch the pope,

The insurrection, which happened in the year 1282, has been named the *Sicilian Vespers*, from the occasion on which it commenced. It has been supposed to have been the result of a deep-laid conspiracy, the secret of which had been preserved two years with undeviating fidelity through hatred of the French. The historian of the Italian republics however represents its author as forming no specific conspiracy[43], but only inflaming the passions of the people, and waiting with his confidential agents for the commotion, to which some new outrage was sure to furnish provocation. That provocation was an insult offered to a young woman of Palermo, under the pretence of searching for arms, when she was going, with the inhabitants of that city, agreeably to a solemn usage, to hear the vesper-service at a neighbouring church, on an Easter Monday. Prepared as the Sicilians had been for vengeance, they rose upon the French, and four thousand persons were in this first night sacrificed to the popular indignation. The example of Palermo influencing the rest of the island, the insurrection was slowly diffused through all the other towns and villages, and before the end of April, the French governor, with the remnant of his troops, was forced to retire to the other side of the strait. To the credit of the Sicilian character it should be mentioned, that

---

and maintain an easier communication with his other territories.—Giannone, lib. xx. cap. 1. sez. 2.

[42] 'By that last outrage, which in all places has precipitated the fall of tyrants, the women were exposed to the brutality of the soldiers.'—Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iii. p. 480.

[43] Ibid., p. 489.

the single Frenchman, who had not disregarded the laws of justice and humanity, was safely and honourably transported thither with his whole family.

Still however the revolution was a work of difficulty, and would have been impracticable[44], if Sicily had not been protected by its separation from the continent, for the actual loss of soldiers sustained from the massacre was not considerable[45], in comparison with the forces which Charles continued to command, and, even with this advantage of position, Frederic, the third of the Spanish sovereigns of Sicily, was at last forced to conclude a peace, by which the reversion of his crown was ceded to the king of Naples. The arrangement was however frustrated by subsequent events[46], and, in the year 1442, it was even reversed, for the family of Aragon then added the Neapolitan kingdom to their own island, and re-established the kingdom of the two Sicilies.

The war occasioned by the revolution of Sicily had a twofold operation. By occupying and exhausting the whole energy of the Angevine princes[47], it suffered Italy to secure that independence, which the great power of Charles had so much endangered. On the other hand, it dissolved the connexion, which had subsisted between Sicily and Aragon. The exposed situation of Aragon[48], which had been assailed by the forces both of Castile and France, had determined its kings to abandon the cause of the Sicilians; and these, in their turn, renounced all connexion with the country of their sovereigns, while they continued to adhere to the succession.

---

[44] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iv. p. 3. [45] It amounted to 4000, whereas, for an expedition to the east, he had assembled 10,000 horsemen, and a proportional number of infantry.—Ibid., p. 1.

[46] At the death of Peter II., who left only an infant son, the Spaniards had become so odious, that a powerful party was formed to invite Robert king of Naples to take possession of the kingdom; but that prince was then himself at the point of death, and, having no male issue, was bequeathing his own kingdom to a long series of confusion and misery. These things occurred in the year 1342, and the re-union was postponed exactly a century, at the end of which time it was effected in the contrary manner. Giannone has noticed the offer made to Robert, when he was at the point of death, as an evident instance of the manner in which fortune sports with men.—Lib. xxii. cap. 3. I should rather choose to call the whole combination of events an instance of an overruling providence. [47] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome iv. pp. 2, 3. [48] Ibid., pp. 93—96.

In reviewing the whole of the circumstances attending the establishment of a French family on the throne of Naples, we cannot fail to remark a very extraordinary adaptation. If Charles of Anjou had not been at first rendered considerable in Italy, he could not have been instrumental in procuring from the emperor Rodolph a final admission of the territorial pretensions of the Roman see. If, with his original possessions, he had continued to govern the two Sicilies, that see would but have exchanged a distant master, embarrassed by the difficulties of an elective and scarcely connected government, for a prince in its immediate vicinage, who could exert much greater power, though sovereign of much less territory. The Italian aggrandisement of this prince was reduced by the policy of the pope, when it had done its work; and by the revolution of Sicily, a political balance of the two Sicilies was constituted, which was indispensable to the independence of Italy, when the emperors had lost all their authority in that country, and the papacy was, after twenty-three years, to be removed to France.

In conclusion, it is to be observed that the monarchy of the two Sicilies is recommended to the attention of the student of history by a consideration of general interest, for the dawn of the poetic day of modern Italy first broke upon the court of the Sicilian monarch. While the cities of northern Italy spoke a various jargon[49], rather than a national language, and were even inclined to adopt the dialect of the neighbouring country of Provence, which had been rendered popular by the poetry of the *troubadours*, the poets of Sicily prepared by their songs that speech, which was soon to be rendered illustrious by the genius of Dante, the first Italian verses having been composed under the government of Roger, the founder of the Sicilian monarchy. Remote from the influence of the poets of Provence, and cheered by the presence of a brilliant court, the country of Theocritus, since so degraded and so barbarous, became conscious of the power, with which it had been gifted by nature, and uttered the strains, which the great poet of Italy deemed most worthy of his muse.

---

[49] Hist. des Républ. Ital., tome ii. pp. 493—495.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the history of Germany, from the beginning of the reign of Louis the Germanic, in the year 840, *to the death of Otho I. in the year* 973.

Louis the Germanic, king of Germany, in the year 840—Aristocracy formed by him—All the dominions of Charlemagne united under Charles *the fat*, 884—Germany finally separated, 888—Hungarians invited into Germany, 893 or 894—Aristocracy independent and monarchy elective, 911—Saxon dynasty begun, 919—Towns built and encouraged—Otho I. becomes emperor, 962.

The imperial dignity, originally restored for Charlemagne in the year 800, was in the year 962 permanently connected with the crown of Germany, and thereby a close and intimate connexion was formed between that country and Italy, the kingdom of the latter being at the same time transferred to the German monarch. The Germanic government was, therefore, that, upon which Italy from that time more immediately acted. Germany was not, indeed, fitted for receiving all the various influences of social improvement, which were brought into activity amidst the agitations of the Italian republics. Literature could not soon find congenial dispositions in a country, which had not been included within the ancient empire, and was but rescued from barbarism by the re-action of France. These, therefore, were primarily communicated to other countries of Europe more favourably circumstanced for their reception. But there were other influences, which required only such political arrangements, as might subsist in a country thus conquered to civilisation, if adapted to its geographical circumstances. Though the literary taste of Italy could not easily be imparted to Germany, because the intellectual character was not yet formed within it, the industry of that country might find an easy transmission into a region so well accommodated to the interior traffic of Europe; and accordingly the great confederacy of the hanseatic or *associated* cities extended throughout the west the commerce, which had its origin in the Italian states. The policy of Italy too might be as successfully communicated, because the reception of it depended upon political, rather than upon moral circumstances; and, as the same combination acted powerfully upon both countries, their political circumstances acquired a very remarkable correspondence. The same struggle of the papacy and the imperial dignity, which broke into a multitude of independent states the Italian dominion of the German emperors, affected also, though less decisively, their domestic territory. The Germanic part of the empire, therefore, though not, like the Italian, reduced to a merely nominal pretension, was, however, so loosened in its structure, that its members were in a sort of middle state between independence and connexion; and thus was prepared a most singular constitution of government, which bore a relation to Italy in the little dependence of its numerous parts, while it corresponded to the monarchies of the other countries of Europe in the acknowledged supremacy of the sovereign.

In reviewing the various organisation employed in the construction of the system of Europe, the Germanic empire solicits a large proportion of our attention. The space, which it covered in the map of Europe, is of itself sufficient to entitle it to much consideration. Independently of Hungary[1] it extended six hundred miles from north to south, and five hundred from east to west; and if that territory be included, as it may in a large and comprehensive view, the Germanic government reached almost entirely across the continent, from the German ocean to the Black Sea. And, though the great debility of its loosely constructed government diminished the direct influence of the empire on the interests of Europe, yet was it that very laxity of combination, which gave to it a peculiar character and importance, as a component member of the general system. It was the independence of the numerous states of the empire, which permitted the formation of the hanseatic confederacy, so important to the early extension of the commerce of Europe; it was this independence which rendered the empire the immediate organ of the federative policy of more modern ages, received, indeed, originally from the combinations of the numerous and wholy independent governments of Italy, but introduced into the general system by the more extended relations of the Germanic states; and it was also the same independence, which presented a field for the ecclesiastical revolution of the reformation, and thereby furnished to the general system, not only a grand principle of religious and even intellectual improvement, but also a permanent division of political parties, and a steady balance of political interests. As a single government, Germany exhibited an unwieldly magnitude, scarcely able to maintain the connection of its parts; as a member of the general system of Europe, it exercised the most important functions, for which it seems to have been specially constructed. It appears as if an organic embryo had been introduced into the centre of a great inert mass, to diffuse throughout the whole, its vivifying influences, and transform it into an active arrangement of parts, assimilated to its own. The empire was in truth a miniature of the future system of Europe, not only in the variety and the general independence of its numerous parts, but also in their federative combinations.

---

[1] Pinkerton's Modern Geography, vol. i. p. 591.

Germany had successfully resisted the efforts of the Roman armies[2], chiefly because it was destitute of cities, for a wilderness may be overrun, but, if its inhabitants are willing to be free, can scarcely be subdued. The Romans were accordingly reduced to satisfy their vanity with bestowing the appellations of *first* and *second Germany*[3] upon two provinces situated on the southern side of the Rhine. When the Franks had succeeded in establishing themselves within the empire, it was natural that other tribes of Germany should imitate their example, and endeavour to share the spoil of their success; but Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy, turned on the Alemanni[4], who have given their name to modern Germany, and subjected a considerable portion of them to his authority. The wars of Charlemagne completed what had been thus begun by Clovis, and had been prosecuted by the intermediate kings.

[2] Schmidt, tome i. p. 72.

[3] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 3, 4. Mentz was the capital of the one, and Cologne of the other.

[4] Two conjectures concerning the origin of this name have been proposed, one deriving it from *alle* signifying *all*, and from *manne* signifying *man*, as expressing an association of various tribes, the other referring it to the river Atmuhl in Franconia, which in the middle ages was named Alemon.—Schmidt, tome iv. p. 118. Pfeffel, tome i. p. 3.

The Saxons were by that monarch compelled, after a final struggle of thirty years, to submit to his dominion; and Germany at length became a province of that extensive empire, which was afterwards modified into the principal system of the European governments.

The reduction of Germany was completed by Charlemagne[5] in the year 803, and in the year 840 it began to be formed into a distinct state, his grandson Louis, surnamed the Germanic, having succeeded to it on the death of his father Louis *the debonnaire*, as his portion of the empire, which apportionment was confirmed three years afterwards by the treaty of Verdun. The intervening thirty-seven years, during which it had remained in the situation of a province, served to give to its parts a combination and consistency, of which they had been destitute, and to qualify it for assuming the character of a sovereign state.

This advantage it owed to the circumstance, that Charlemagne had but one legitimate son[6]. As the latter had three sons, the empire at his death became divided into as many parts, and Germany became a separate government. Forty-eight years however elapsed before the separation became complete and permanent, for Charles, one of the sons of this first monarch of Germany, succeeded to the whole of the dominions, which had been governed by Charlemagne, and restored for a time the unity of the empire. But this restoration was of very short continuance, and only preparatory to its final dissolution. The entire incapacity of Charles *the fat* became visible to every eye; at the end of four years he was driven from the throne by the general indignation of his subjects; and the advancement of Arnold, an illegitimate descendant of Charlemagne, to the separate throne of Germany, in the year 888[7], was at once the beginning of its independence in regard to the choice of a sovereign, and the epoch of its lasting distinctness. Another step was indeed still necessary for rendering the independence of Germany complete, so gradual was the process, by which it was detached from the parent-empire of Europe. It was still the family of Charlemagne, which occupied the throne, though not in a legitimate descent. Twelve years were employed in this concluding transition. At the expiration of that time a second Louis, the son and successor of Arnold, died unmarried; the Carlovingian dynasty of Germany became extinct at his death; and the notorious incapacity of Charles *the simple*, the reigning sovereign of the French dynasty, compelled the German chieftains to resort to a formal election. Even then however the family of Charlemagne could scarcely be wholly excluded from the throne, as there was not perhaps any of the greater nobles[8], who was not descended from that prince by a female.

---

[5] On this occasion he instituted among the Saxons the secret tribunal of Westphalia, of which an account has been given in note 10 of the fifth chapter. That its jurisdiction was accommodated to the circumstances of the government, appears from this, that the Saxons themselves required of the emperor Conrad II., who began his reign in the year 1024, that it should be confirmed.—Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 35, 36.

[6] He left indeed a grandson, Bernard, who had succeeded his father in the kingdom of Italy

[7] He was an illegitimate son of Carloman, eldest son of Louis the Germanic.

Germany was, at the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty[9], occupied by five distinct nations, the Franks, the Saxons, the Bavarians, the Suabians, and the Lorrainers, among which the Franks and the Saxons held the principal stations, the former commanding the southern, the latter the northern provinces. The modern Franconia was the remnant of the district of Germany, which had been occupied by the Franks, the original Franconia[10] having also comprehended some districts adjacent to the Rhine, as Mentz, Worms, and the province afterwards named the Palatinate. The country of the Saxons extended from the German Sea to Franconia, and from the Elbe almost to the Rhine.

Though Charlemagne had at length subdued the Saxons, yet, as he survived this conquest but eleven years, he had not time for establishing over them firmly the control of the sovereign, and that great district therefore continued to maintain a considerable degree of independence. The influence of this condition of the Saxons was most important in the two great struggles of the German government, that of the reign of Henry IV., when the government was committed with the papacy, and that of the reign of Charles V., when it was committed with the reformation. In the former crisis a revolt of the Saxons enabled Gregory VII. to shake the throne of the sovereign, and in the latter the power of the elector of Saxony afforded a secure protection to the leader of the reformers.

---

[8] The chiefs of Franconia, Saxony, and Bavaria, were all sprung by their mothers from the family of Charlemagne. The family of the duke of Suabia is not known.—Pfeffel, tome i p. 96.

[9] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 228.

[10] Ibid. Eginhard describes Franconia as comprehending all the country between Saxony and the Danube, and, from west to east, all the country between the Rhine and the Sala, which includes Thuringia.—Etats formés en Europe, par D'Anville, p. 18. Pfeffel has joined Thuringia with Saxony.—Tome i. p. 96.

By the treaty of Verdun, concluded in the year 843, Louis obtained, as a distinct kingdom[11], all the provinces situated on the right side of the Rhine, together with the cities of Spire, Worms, and Mentz, with their respective territories on the left bank of that river, which were added expressly that they might furnish a supply of wine. The geographical peculiarities of the territory so determined, appear to correspond very directly to its political fortunes. The western provinces, destitute of physical demarcations, afforded a suitable site for a loose and irregular government, the numerous parts of which were distinguished by political, not natural divisions; the eastern, distributed by various chains of lofty mountains into territories of considerable magnitude, appear to have been not less adapted to contain a vigorous power, capable of presiding over this disorderly combination.

Louis, the first king of Germany, has been described by historians in terms of commendation[12], which have not been applied to any other of the descendants of Charlemagne; and a reign of thirty-six years allowed him an

[11] In the preceding year we find the first notice and specimens of the romance-language and ancient German, each king addressing his followers in their own language, and swearing an oath of peace in the other. Hist. des Français, tome iii. pp. 67, etc. [12] Schmidt says only that, if there was any difference among the sons of Louis *the debonnaire*, he was the best.—Ibid., p. 85. Henault calls him one of the most virtuous, and of the greatest princes, who ever reigned in Germany.—Vol. i. p. 75. Mezeray describes him as possessing every good quality of a prince, and approaching more nearly than any other of his family to the character of Charlemagne; tome ii. p. 130.

ample opportunity for laying the foundations of the government. The care of this prince was directed to the establishment of that aristocracy, which afterwards acquired so considerable an influence. It had been the policy of Charlemagne to suppress the great chieftains, who might contest his authority, and the original dukedoms of Germany were accordingly abolished[13]; but the repeated incursions of the Slavians and Normans rendered it necessary to abandon this policy for the more urgent concern of the national defence, and to appoint leaders[14], who might be able to collect the forces of considerable districts, and repel these restless invaders. The desultory incursions of barbarians could be resisted only by nobles, commanding in their several districts, or by cities so secured by walls, as to defy their unskilful efforts. Germany then containing no cities, the invaders, by whom it was assailed, gave a beginning to a powerful aristocracy. Nor were these incursions more destructive, than might minister to such a purpose, for the Slavians were divided into a great number of petty tribes, incapable of uniting for a common enterprise[15], and the Normans were so much more powerfully attracted by the wealth of France, and by the weakness of the French monarch, that their efforts against Germany were feeble and ill directed.

Between the death of Louis and the advancement of Arnold twelve years intervened, which served to demonstrate the necessity of the permanent separation and independence of Germany, already prepared by the distinct government of Louis during a long reign. It happened that this country then possessed a prince, who was not only recommended by some connexion with the family of its former sovereigns, but had already acquired a considerable reputation in the war waged against the Slavians[16]. The Germans were therefore sufficiently unanimous in the advancement of their new prince; and his illegitimacy, though not deemed a sufficient objection for setting aside his pretension, yet, as it had six years before excluded him from the succession of his father[17], must have tended to give his government more of the character of an elective monarchy.

---

[13] In the year 787 he deposed Tassilon duke of Bavaria, who was the last of the order.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 31.

[14] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 82.

[15] Ibid., pp. 78—81.

[16] Ibid., tome ii. pp. 95, 97, 98.

[17] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 76.

Arnold was well fitted for prosecuting the work of forming the new kingdom. While he completed the establishment of dukes[18], which had been begun by Louis, he contended in a vigorous reign of eleven years with the Slavian and Norman invaders of his country. He so well maintained at the same time the authority of his crown, that he deposed the duke of Thuringia, who had not with sufficient activity resisted an incursion of the former of these nations[19]. He began the important connexion with Italy by two expeditions[20] undertaken at the desire of the Roman see, in consequence of the former of which he was, in the year 894, chosen king of Italy, and in consequence of the latter he was two years afterwards invested with the imperial dignity, though in the alternation of Italian parties he was permitted to hold it but a year. By the Germans accordingly he was honoured, while he was hated by the Italians, and feared by the French[21].

One measure of the government of Arnold gave occasion to much public calamity. To punish the revolt of the Moravians and the ingratitude of their prince[22] he invited into Germany the Hungarians, who at first entered into his views, but afterwards committed such ravages, as almost caused those of the Normans to be forgotten. This very measure however co-operated with other causes to the formation of the aristocracy of Germany. Charlemagne in his military enterprises had relied much on the services of infantry[23]; but the opposition given by the inferior proprietors to the requisitions of service, and the gradual diminution of their number under the oppressions of the great, had already bestowed the superiority on the cavalry. The change thus begun was promoted by the introduction of the Hungarians, who fought on horseback and with arrows, and could be resisted only by horsemen. Nor was this the only influence of the incursions of these barbarians, for, in the reign of Henry I., their violences produced a further effect, analogous to their operation on the polity of Italy, giving occasion to the construction of towns, by which that prince found it necessary to protect the eastern frontier of his kingdom.

---

[18] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 84. [19] Ibid., p. 80. [20] The first was undertaken in the year 893, at the solicitation of Berenger duke of Friuli and king of Italy, and of the pope Stephen VI. to deliver them from Guy duke of Spoleto, who had been chosen king by a party in the year 889, and crowned emperor in the year 891. The second was undertaken in the year 896, at the request of another pope, Formosus, who was menaced by a marquess of Tuscany. The advancement of Arnold to the imperial dignity was in the next year annulled by Stephen VII., who was of an opposite party.—Abrége Chron. de l'Hist. d'Italie, tome ii. p. 622—630. [21] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 107.

[22] Ibid., p. 99. The Hungarians, having wandered a long time after they had been driven from Italy, at length settled in Moldavia, Walachia, and a part of Transylvania. When they had been invited by Arnold, they availed themselves of the opportunity to dismember the kingdom of Moravia, which extended almost to the extremity of Pannonia, and having joined to it a part of the Thracian Dacia, they formed the modern Hungary in the year 893 or 894.—Ibid., p. 100.

A second Louis, the son of Arnold, ascended the throne of Germany in the year 900, and died unmarried in the year 911, at the age of eighteen years. His minor reign was so much disturbed by the inroads of the Hungarians, that the Germans applied to their country the expression of the sacred writings[24], 'woe to thee, O land, when thy 'king is a child.' The interior of Germany was at the same time harassed by civil war; but in this the exertions of the archbishop of Mentz, and of Otho duke of Saxony, who acted as guardians of the young prince, supported and preserved the authority of the crown. It was indeed the expiring period of the Carlovingian dynasty in Germany, and was well fitted for preparing the people to look to another family for an effective monarch, especially as it afforded to Otho an opportunity of accustoming the people to respect his merit in maintaining the authority of Louis. The growth of the aristocracy was at the same time so favoured by the weakness of a minor reign, that it was at this time converted into an independent order possessed of hereditary fiefs[25], instead of being composed only of commissioners, deriving a transitory authority from the mandate of the crown. From this the progress was easy to further usurpations. The great nobles gradually assumed a feudal superiority over the nobles of the provinces who had been directly dependent on the sovereign, and at length took possession of the royal demesnes within their provinces, abolishing entirely the royal jurisdiction.

---

[23] Pfeffel, i. p. 122. [24] Schmidt, ii. p. 112. [25] Pfeffel, i. p. 92.

At the death of Louis the advantage of the kind of regency, which his minority had rendered necessary, was immediately experienced. The Franks and Saxons shared between them the dominion of the kingdom, and it was of extreme importance that they should agree in the choice of the sovereign. Fortunately the meritorious services of Otho, a Saxon, performed in the capacity of guardian to the late king, united all suffrages in his favour; and fortunately also he was induced, on account of his age, to decline the dignity, and to exercise his influence in procuring the like unanimity in favour of Conrad of Franconia. This prince, who was endowed with all the virtues of a king[26], passed the eight years of his reign in vigorous exertions for suppressing the insurrections, by which the great chieftains of Germany endeavoured to establish an entire independence, the recent elevation of a new family having encouraged them to throw off the authority of the crown. But the concluding act of his life was most eminently conducive to the interests of his country, as it tended to improve, and render permanent, the harmony subsisting between the Franks and Saxons. Though he had a brother, who might have aspired to the throne, he was induced, by his concern for the public tranquillity, to recommend, as his successor, Henry, duke of Saxony, the son of that Otho, to whom he was indebted for his own elevation.

The reign of Henry I., which lasted seventeen years, contributed essentially to the formation of the German government. When he had first repressed the ambition of the powerful dukes of Suabia and Bavaria, he proceeded to adopt a new and efficacious measure, for protecting the country from the ravages of its barbarous enemies, by constructing towns in various places. In ancient Germany there had not been any towns[27]; and neither Charlemagne, nor any of his successors before Henry, appears to have encouraged them.

The first erection of towns in that country, was the work of the church. These were peopled partly by the vassals and dependents of the bishops, partly by freemen seeking their protection, but chiefly by artisans and traders, who proposed at once to enjoy the opportunity of markets, and to escape from the oppressions of the lay lords. The royal farms, for similar reasons, became places of resort, and many of them were at length converted into towns. To resist the Hungarians, Henry surrounded with walls the principal villages in Saxony and the neighbouring provinces[28]; and, having constructed new towns in the most favourable situations, he removed into them the ninth part of the nobles and free inhabitants of the country, and provided for their subsistence by collecting into magazines the third part of the produce of the neighbouring districts.

---

[26] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 292, &c.

[27] Ibid., p. 150, &c.

The Germans being very unwilling to submit to the restraint of a residence in towns, Henry, to overcome their repugnance, bestowed on these establishments extraordinary advantages, rendering them the seats of arts and trades, of fairs and public assemblies, and of all popular entertainments. In one important particular however, these towns were still deficient[29], no trace of municipal government being yet discoverable in Germany. Those which had been built on the lands of bishops, were subject to officers, whom they appointed; and, in the like manner, those erected at this time were governed by officers named by the king, if they were erected on the lands of the crown, or else named by the duke or count, on whose lands they were situated. But, though municipal government was not yet introduced, the inhabitants of the towns enjoyed more liberty than those of the country, because the interest of the proprietors disposed them to encourage the inhabitants of the country to resort thither for protection; and at length, in imitation of the more perfect cities of Italy, each considerable town became a distinct republic in regard to all the concerns of its interior administration.

The same necessity for defence, which prompted Henry to afford encouragement to the formation of towns, determined him also to form a more regular military force than had yet subsisted in Germany, by granting pay to his soldiers[30], and accustoming them to a more rigorous discipline, and to a more frequent practice of military exercises.

---

[28] Pfeffel, tome i. p 110.

[29] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 432.

[30] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 109.

With this force he employed the latter part of his active reign in extending and securing his frontier [31], by taking from the Slavians the provinces of Brandenburgh, Misnia, and Lusatia; in rendering Bohemia again tributary, as it had been in the time of the earlier Carlovingian princes; in gaining possession of the whole of Lorraine, which had been divided between the Germans and the French; and in chastising the Danish invaders of Germany on the one part, and the Hungarians on the other. But the great praise of Henry is that which he merited by attending to the interior regulation of his kingdom. If Germany owed to Conrad its preservation, and the union of all its members except Lorraine[32], it was indebted to Henry for the beginning of its internal policy, and consequently of its superiority over the other states of that period.

Two such reigns formed a fit preparation for the long and brilliant government of the first of the Othos, the eldest of the legitimate sons of Henry I., who was chosen to succeed him in the year 936, and in a successful government of thirty-seven years, exalted the throne of Germany to the most distinguished elevation. In this important reign the greater part of Italy became subject to the crown of Germany, the imperial title was finally and permanently attached to the German sovereignty, and the papacy itself was submitted to the disposal of the new emperor. Thus was at length effected that combination of the interest of the Italian peninsula with the kingdom of Germany, which constituted the great arterial communication of the European system, conveying into this central region those active influences of ancient policy, which had survived the dissolution of the ancient empire.

Otho began his reign with repressing various insurrections. The Bohemians[33] were reduced after a struggle of fourteen years, and revolts of the Bavarians and Franconians were also repressed. Even his own countrymen, the Saxons, formed a conspiracy to assassinate him, the troops of the frontiers having been dissatisfied by the interruption of the tributes of the revolted Slavians; but the conspiracy was discovered and defeated. The remainder of the life of

---

[31] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 110. Schmidt, tome ii. p. 303. [32] Ibid., p. 390. [33] Ibid. p. 303, etc.

Otho was a series of foreign successes[34]. He rendered the Slavians tributary as far as the Oder; he carried his arms through the whole peninsula of Jutland, and gave his name to the entrance of the Baltic, from him named Ottensund; he united in his own family all the duchies of his kingdom; and he effected in the year 962 the important union of Italy and the imperial dignity with the crown of Germany.

The interesting story of Adelaide, whose marriage with Otho was the occasion of this last acquisition, has been already related[35]. The connexion hereby formed with the papacy exhibited in its very commencement its natural character of reciprocal jealousy and irritation. The pontiff[36] speedily repented of having introduced the Germans into Italy, and concerted with the son of Berenger the means of their expulsion. The emperor on the other hand returned to Rome in the year 963, and assembled a council, which for this, and for various enormities of his personal conduct, formally deposed him from his see. The transaction was concluded by the election of Leo VIII., at which the clergy and people bound themselves by oath[37], never again to choose a pontiff without the consent of the emperor. The jealousy of the pope thus gave occasion to an exercise of sovereign authority, by which that jealousy was confirmed; and the struggle of the two powers, which a century afterwards produced the most important results, was commenced at the very epoch of their combination.

In thus reviewing the history of the German government through a period of one hundred and thirty-three years, beginning with its first separation from the empire of Charlemagne, and ending with the greatest aggrandisement of the royal power, a regular progress in the formation of the constitution may easily be distinguished.

A country occupied by nations so fierce and so divided, required that in its earlier government the royal power should predominate, for a sufficient degree of combination and consistency could not otherwise be given to the entire mass. In almost every prince accordingly, from Louis the

---

[34] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 122, 135.

[35] Chapter VII.

[36] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 128.

[37] This stipulation was not a mere formality, for, after the death of Leo VIII., John XIII. was elected in conformity to it. Ibid., p. 131.

Germanic to Otho, those abilities have been apparent, which in such a situation were indispensable to the maintenance and enlargement of the royal authority. Two exceptions from this general character do indeed present themselves; one in the interval between the death of the first Louis and the advancement of Arnold, the other in the whole of the reign of the second Louis. These, however, may be easily shown to have indirectly contributed to the very progress, which they by their immediate operation interrupted. The former of these two intervals, comprehending twelve years, was employed in accumulating upon Charles *the fat* almost the whole of the grandeur of Charlemagne, and by thus rendering his degradation unavoidable, disposing his original kingdom of Germany to assert more strenuously its independence, and to concur more readily in the choice of a sovereign. The minor reign of the second Louis, on the other hand, comprehending eleven years, allowed to the duke of Saxony an opportunity of displaying his superior ability in the regency of the kingdom, and thus formed a most commodious transition from a succession still continued in the Carlovingian family to the advancement of a new race. The incapacity of Charles disposed the Germans to have recourse to an election; the minority of Louis brought forward a new object of their confidence. Though the duke of Saxony declined the dignity which the nation was willing to bestow, yet this moderation but converted the prince of their wishes into the guide of their first free selection, and facilitated the reversionary exaltation of his son.

That the early extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty of Germany was not sufficient of itself to give occasion to the introduction of an elective government in that country, is however, evident from the case of France, where that family may be considered as having ceased to reign[38] but twelve years after it had become extinct in Germany, though it preserved a lingering existence during sixty-four years. It still, therefore, remains to be considered, why the Germans did not, like the French, content themselves with substituting a new dynasty in the place of the former, but exercised the right of nominating each successive prince.

---

[38] In the year 888, the Carlovingian dynasty of France was interrupted by Eudes count of Paris, placed on the throne to the prejudice of Charles *the simple*, who, however, succeeded him. Charles was afterwards deposed, and succeeded in the year 923, by Rodolph duke of Burgundy, the Carlovingian line being again broken; but that line was, at the death of Rodolph, restored in the person of a son of Charles, and continued in those of his grandson and great-grandson, to the usurpation of Hugh Capet in the year 987.

To give an answer to this inquiry, it must in the first place be observed, that, as Germans, they had no satisfactory experience of hereditary succession. Louis, their first sovereign, had been succeeded, not by one but by three princes, who parcelled the inheritance among them; and when the whole had devolved upon one of them, he so plainly manifested his insufficiency, that within six years he was formally deprived of his power. The prince, whom they then elected, was succeeded by his son; but that son was an incapable minor, and died without leaving any posterity. This was the whole of their experience of succession in the family of Charlemagne. In regard to the earlier princes, who came into the place of that family, it must again be considered, what an alarming jealousy subsisted between the two leading nations of the Germans, the Franks and Saxons, insomuch that the first of them found it necessary to recommend a successor from the other division of the nation, in prejudice to the pretension of his own brother. If to these considerations we add, that in France[39] the great fiefs had become strictly hereditary, but not yet completely so in Germany, where the royal authority was more vigorously exercised, the difficulty will be wholly removed, for it was natural that the succession to the throne should be regarded as bearing an analogy to that of one of the great vassals, by whom it was surrounded. But, notwithstanding all these considerations, it seems almost certain[40], that the German monarchy would have become strictly hereditary, if the direct line of the family of Otho had been continued through a greater number of princes.

While in this period of the history of Germany the various causes, which have been specified, gave to the government a vigorous but elective monarchy; the materials also of that aristocracy were provided, which afterwards prevailed over the authority of the crown, and gradually established the singular constitution of the empire. It has already been remarked, that in the reign of the very first prince, who governed Germany as a separate kingdom, the great duchies were restored, which Charlemagne had suppressed. During the eleven years, which intervened between his death and the advancement of Arnold, the royal power was enfeebled, first by being divided between the sons of Louis, and then by devolving to one of them, whose imbecility soon sunk under the weight. Such an interval was highly favourable to the aggrandisement of the newly created dukes, whose authority must have been more firmly established by the importance connected with the act of deposing one sovereign, and with that of electing another. When the right of electing was, after a short interval, to be again distinctly exercised, the authority of the nobles must have received additional strength; and it has accordingly been remarked[41], that in the reign of Conrad I., the first prince elected after the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty, the dukes laid the foundation of a grandeur, which rivalled that of the throne. Otho indeed, while he preserved the constitution, which he found established, laboured to correct its defects. He severely punished the abuses of ducal authority[42], and, as a restraint upon the conduct of the dukes, he restored the ancient office of royal commissioners, under the new denomination of provincial counts palatine.

---

[39] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 411.

[40] Ibid., pp. 410, 411.

The clergy may be easily conceived to have constituted a very important order in the new government, when it is considered that it had been the policy of Charlemagne to exalt them, as the best expedient for retaining in subjection the fierce inhabitants of Germany, and that the districts granted to the German prelates, having been originally of vast extent on account of the wild and unproductive state of the country[43] became in the progress of improve-

[41] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 134. [42] Ibid., p. 135. [43] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 204. In the time of Louis *the debonnaire* those churches were esteemed but moderately wealthy, which possessed only 1000 or 2000 *manses* or farms; those, which were thought rich, possessed 7000, or 8000, or even more.—Ibid., p. 205.

ment establishments of princely magnificence. The aggrandisement of the clergy was also, together with that of the nobles, increased by the extinction of the reigning family. As the lay nobility availed themselves of the importance attached to the power of disposing of the crown, to usurp the authority and the demesnes of the sovereign, so did the clergy obtain from his favour or connivance advantages not inferior. The German princes imagined that the strength of the clergy would prove a support to them against the encroachments of the dukes[44]; and therefore, the more the power of the latter appeared formidable, the more did they labour to enrich the former, and to exempt them from the ducal jurisdictions. In this speculation indeed they were fatally deceived, for that very order effected those usurpations on the royal authority, which were apprehended from the nobles; but it was not then possible to foresee the future exaltation of the papacy, and the influence which it exercised upon the German government. The completion of the greatness of the German clergy was the work of that Otho, with whose reign this view of the history of Germany has been concluded. He bestowed on them entire counties and duchies[45], with the same powers which were enjoyed by the nobles, subjecting them to no other restriction than that of appointing royal officers, as associates in their governments, to which however they did not long submit[46].

These ecclesiastics had been early brought to an acknowledgment of the supremacy of Rome. Germany appears to have received the first knowledge of Christianity in the time of the Christian emperors[47], at least in the parts adjacent to the Rhine and the Danube; but its primitive churches fell into decay amidst the confusion of the unhappy period which succeeded. In the seventh and eighth centuries[48], the missionaries of Ireland and Scotland exerted themselves to restore and to extend the Christianity of this country: and early in the latter Winefried[49], an English monk, commonly named Boniface, became the great apostle of Germany, and the strenuous agent of the authority of Rome.

---

[44] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 92. [45] Ibid., p. 133. [46] They found an opportunity of freeing themselves wholly from it in the time of the successors of this prince, and especially of Henry II.—Ibid., p. 170.

[47] Schmidt, tome i. pp. 421, 422. [48] Schmidt, tome i. p. 423. Thus St. Kilian went, in the year 687, to preach Christianity in the modern Franconia; Emmera in the year 625, and Rupert in the year 718, visited Bavaria for the same purpose; and in the year 739 Wilibrord taught in Frisia and Thuringia.

As an expedient for establishing the supremacy of the Roman see, Boniface persuaded the German bishops, assembled in council, to frame an oath, which they sent in writing to Rome, binding themselves to solicit from the pope the pall for their archbishops. The unimproved situation of Germany however, by enfeebling the authority of the archbishops, lessened very much the influence of this ordinance. As there were then in Germany no towns, much less capitals, there were no metropolitan bishops[50], and the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne assumed a jurisdiction over the more northern districts. Many of the bishops therefore were so distant from their archbishops, that the rights of these superiors were exercised with little precision, and it necessarily happened, that the principal affairs of the German churches were regulated in national councils, over which the sovereign presided, instead of being arranged by the bishops of a single province under the superintendence of their archbishop. But from the death of Louis the Germanic[51], or from the year 876, may be dated the fall of the liberties of the German church, occasioned by that impatience of an immediate superior, which commonly drives men into an unqualified acknowledgment of a paramount control. The decretals, falsely ascribed to the earlier popes, but really composed in the ninth century for the purpose of rescuing the bishops and inferior clergy from the oppression of their metropolitans, were eagerly recommended and enforced by the see of Rome, which they exalted on the ruin of the authority of the archbishops. The feeble reign of Charles *the fat* afforded a favourable opportunity for introducing into Germany the new jurisprudence, which was accordingly established there so firmly before the close of the ninth century, that in the year 895 a council acknowledged its subjection in the most humble terms, declaring that it was bound to submit to the apostolic see, though the yoke, which that see imposed, could scarcely be borne. The sovereign however still retained a considerable ascendency. Conrad I. annulled the election of an archbishop[52], and of his own authority named another, to whom the pontiff thought proper to send the consecrated pall; Henry I. even nominated all the bishops of his kingdom[53], and obliged them to attend his court; and Otho I. triumphed over the papacy itself, that supreme power of the hierarchy, which proved so formidable to his successors.

---

[49] Schmidt, tome i. pp. 424, 439, 440. [50] Ibid., p. 434. However, in the year 834, Louis *the debonnaire*, as a hope began to be entertained, that Christianity might be extended in the north, established an archbishopric at Hamburgh, which in the year 849 was transferred to Bremen.—Ibid., tome ii. p. 201. [51] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 94, 95. Schmidt, tome ii. p. 249. &c.

The political aggrandisement of the prelates had a natural tendency to give to them more of a secular character, than in other countries. Charlemagne, influenced by the recent representations of Boniface, had dispensed with their attendance in the field[54]; but they were so apprehensive of the loss of their feudal properties, that they continued notwithstanding to perform the same military services as other barons. Louis, the son of Charlemagne, issued ordinances on this subject similar to that of his father, but with as little effect; and the succeeding princes on the contrary, when they granted to a church permission to elect a bishop, enjoined it to choose a person able to attend the service of the king. This consideration was also a principal reason for admitting only persons of noble birth among the canons, from whom the bishops were afterwards to be selected. The greater ecclesiastics of Germany accordingly became an order of a mixed character, princes equally as prelates, and, while they differed from the secular nobility in their connexion with the see of Rome, possessed like them the means of secular power, and indulged in the same habits of secular interference.

The advancement of Hugh Capet to the throne of France followed the death of Otho I. at an interval of only fourteen years. The period therefore of the German history, which has been reviewed in this chapter, was nearly coincident with that long period of extreme debility in the French history, in which the Carlovingian dynasty gradually expired, and made room for the substitution of that of Capet. It is interesting to remark the contrasted fortunes of the two governments so recently separated, and to consider how this diversity may have corresponded to the difference of their functions in the general system.

---

[52] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 101. [53] Ibid., p. 113. [54] Schmidt, tome ii. pp. 233, 234.

It is sufficiently obvious, that the contemporary weakness of France was most favourable to the formation of the new German monarchy, since, if that country had then been powerful, a struggle for superiority must have ensued, which might have exercised the valour, but would have interrupted the political development of Germany. It seems therefore to have been necessary, that the principal country of the parent-empire should sink into a long continued weakness, while the young government, which was detached from it, should form without molestation its various institutions, and prepare its energies for the discharge of its several functions, more especially as this government was established in a rude and barbarous country, in which scarcely any materials of political combination had previously existed. But it may be further remarked, that the importance of Germany to the general system of Europe appears to have been prior in time to that of France, considered as a distinct state, because it will be shown that Germany provided for Europe the policy of a federative system, while France was preparing itself to assume the principal station in that system of policy, when from the Germanic empire it had been extended over western Europe. It was accordingly suited to the general order of events, that Germany should hasten forward towards its maturity. The policy of a federative system was to be formed within the empire, before it could be extended throughout Europe, and consequently before a government could be necessary for becoming the centre of its relations so extended.

This diversified adaptation of these two governments appears to have been immediately the result of the influence of individual characters. The princes of Germany were generally able, while those of France were noted for imbecility. If the two series had been interchanged, Germany must soon have become a rude province of a French empire, France must have become at once a powerful and predominating government, and the whole system of the interests of Europe must have been varied, if indeed any regular combination of interests could have been constituted. Perhaps however a more general cause may be discovered, to which that difference of individual characters may, at least in part, be traced. In the circumstances of Germany weak and incapable princes could not have been placed on the throne[55], because such princes could not have attracted the confidence of the chiefs. Every candidate for the throne must therefore have felt the necessity of earning his exaltation by the utmost exertion of his natural powers.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the history of Germany, from the beginning of the reign of Otho II., in the year 973, *to the death of Lothaire II. in the year* 1137.

The Franconian dynasty begun in the year 1024—Feudal system completed, 1037—Struggle with the papacy begun, 1076—*Concordat* of Calixtus II., 1122.

At the death of Otho I. everything seemed to promise to his descendants an inheritance of prosperity and glory[1]. His reign of thirty-seven years, his extraordinary good fortune, and the esteem which he had acquired in the latter part of his life, had almost caused the Germans to forget that they were distinct nations; the southern countries of

---

[55] Germany may be considered as bounded at this time on the north by the German Ocean and the river Sley, which passes by Sleswick, the territory, which Otho I. acquired beyond this river, having been quickly recovered by Denmark; on the south by the Rhine, the Reuss towards Burgundy, and the Alps towards Italy; on the west by the Maese and the Scheldt; and as separated on the east from Hungary by the Leytha and the Morava, and by the Oder from Poland, Silesia and Mazovia being at most but honorary fiefs.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 175.

[1] Schmidt, tome ii. pp. 330, 331.

Germany too had become accustomed to the ascendency of the Saxons, and the more considerable duchies were held by the family of Otho. The external situation of the government was not less favourable. Tranquillity had been established in Italy, France was enfeebled by the disorders, which preceded the usurpation of Hugh Capet, and the Slavian borderers of Germany were intimidated. But the very event, which threw the brightest lustre on the reign of Otho, the acquisition of the kingdom of Italy and of the imperial dignity, was that which, in its consequences, proved destructive of all this grandeur. Within forty years it occasioned the extinction of the male posterity of this prince, and in a subsequent period it subverted that royal authority, which appeared to have been established with so much security.

When Otho II. had, in the beginning of his reign, maintained the tranquillity of Germany by repressing the disturbances of his own family[2], by repelling the incursions of the Danes, and by securing the connexion of Lorraine, he undertook an expedition into Italy, which was the occasion of all the misfortunes of his house. Cincio, or Crescentius[3], was at the time leader of an insurrection of the Romans, the object of which was to abolish the authority of the papacy, and restore the ancient magistracy of the consuls; but the counts of Tusculum, who were always powerful in Rome, resisted his attempts, and Otho by his arrival effected the entire suppression of the insurgents. The views of the German monarch however extended further than the re-establishment of the tranquillity of the papal see. Anxious to complete the Italian acquisitions of his father, and also excited by the representations of the princes of Benevento and Capua, who, for their submission to his father, had experienced much annoyance from their Grecian neighbours, he engaged in an attempt to reduce under his authority the more southern provinces of the peninsula. The immediate consequence of this attempt was the entire defeat of the German monarch; the remote one was the formation of a power, which, by affording a new support to the papal see, enabled it in a subsequent period to triumph over the authority of the imperial crown of Germany. The Greeks of southern Italy, unable to oppose a sufficient resistance to the attack of Otho, invited to their aid the Saracens of Sicily and Africa; to combat these new neighbours a troop of Norman adventurers was, forty years afterwards, permitted by the German sovereign to establish itself in Italy; and this establishment became a secure asylum, to which the pontiff could retreat in his violent struggle with the emperor, which was begun forty-seven years after its commencement, and four years before it was completed by the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy, and the reduction of Sicily.

---

[2] Excited by the dukes of Bavaria and Suabia, his kinsmen.

[3] Schmidt, tome ii. pp. 334, 335.

Otho II., who died shortly after his defeat, was succeeded by his son Otho III., who was then only three years old, the regency being committed to his mother, the empress Theophania, who had been a Greek princess. After the death of the empress, which followed that of her husband within eight years, the government was assumed by Adelaide, widow of the first Otho. These female regencies were favourable to the improvement of the German manners, without being injurious to the authority of the crown, which was sufficiently supported by the general loyalty of the dukes[4]. The influence of a Grecian, and of an Italian princess, could not but conduce to the refinement of the grossness[5], which then characterised the people of Germany, especially as the former enjoyed in her regency so much authority[6], that charters have been found, which were dated with the years of her reign. The influence of Adelaide must indeed have already operated to the same end in the reign of her husband Otho I., and that of Theophania in the reign of her husband Otho II.; but the great improvement appears to have been effected during their regencies, when they administered the supreme power of the state, and principally during the more authoritative government of Theophania. We accordingly find Ditmar lamenting the degeneracy of the manners of his own time[7], and extolling the simplicity of the time of the first Otho; he censures in particular the immodest exposure of the persons of the female sex, introduced by the fashions of dress latterly adopted, and he complains of the daily increase of the number of adulteries. It is indeed very probable that many improprieties, and even immoralities, would attend a sudden transition from gross and simple manners to the free intercourse of more refined and elegant society; and it may perhaps be maintained, that the coarseness of a semi-barbarous people might be more speedily and effectually civilised by the admixture of a contrary system of manners, though such as could not be reconciled to the strict rules of decorum, or even of morality. But it may be conjectured, on the other hand, that much of the lamentation of this writer may have been suggested by the querulous disposition, which, offended by the faults of present manners, ascribes to the rudeness of preceding times an unmerited character of simplicity and virtue.

---

[4] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 340.

[5] The Germans in their laws reproach themselves with drunkenness even to the sixteenth century. —Ibid., p. 368. In one year thirty-five murders were committed among the persons belonging to the church of Saint Peter at Worms.

[6] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 144.

The connexion of Italy with the German crown proved fatal to Otho III., as it had been to Otho II., and to another son, and grandson, of Otho I. The troubles of Rome, occasioned by the repeated insurrections of Crescentius, determined him twice to visit that country, and he died in the second of these expeditions[8]. Thus within a few years perished all the male posterity of the illustrious Otho. The same fatality might indeed have occurred, if they had never quitted their native country; but it seems reasonable to ascribe it to the baneful influence of a climate, which was almost constantly injurious to the health of the Germans of this period.

The last of these princes[9] had formed a scheme, the accomplishment of which would have essentially altered and disturbed the entire system of the politics of Europe. Educated by his mother Theophania in the refinement of Grecian politeness, he conceived a distaste for the grossness of his countrymen, and determined to establish in Rome the seat of his authority. With this design he introduced into his court an establishment and ceremonial borrowed from the usages of the Greeks and Romans, and remained

[7] Schmidt, tome ii. pp. 387, 388.

[8] Ibid., pp. 348, 349.

[9] Ibid., pp. 346—349.

at Rome an entire year, during which he laboured to conciliate the attachment of the principal persons of the city. But, notwithstanding all his efforts, he experienced the restless turbulence of the inhabitants of that ancient capital, whose imaginations still cherished the memory of their ancient greatness. A tumult suddenly arose among the people, and the emperor was, during three days, invested in his palace, from which he was with great difficulty rescued. Deeply offended by this instance of the ingratitude of a people, to whom he had been strongly attached, he was preparing to inflict upon them the vengeance, which they had provoked, when death arrested his career, and defeated a scheme, which would have destroyed the independence of the papal power, and confounded the system of Europe.

The series of the Saxon emperors was concluded by Henry II., elected to succeed the last of the Othos. This emperor, though he had not descended from any of the three Othos [10], was yet of the same family, having sprung from a brother of the first of those princes, and consequently having lineally descended from his father Henry I. But, though the same family still occupied the throne, the failure of the line of the Othos could not but be followed by important consequences [11]. Had this dynasty continued to preside over the monarchy in regular succession, there can be little doubt that the German crown would, like others, have become strictly hereditary. The elections of the Othos had been mere formalities. The archbishop of Mentz, at the coronation of the first, presented him to the people as chosen by God, nominated by his father, and then made king by the princes: of this monarch again it was said, that he had made his son king, being elected by all the people: and even of Henry II., though he had not received the crown by a lineal succession, and had encountered a vehement opposition, it was maintained by the Saxons, that he ought to be king by the grace of God, and in virtue of his own hereditary right. In the case of the third Otho the admission of so young a child to the throne was an unequivocal acknowledgment of his right of inheritance. It is true indeed, that in the succeeding dynasty the crown was again transmitted by a regular descent, though subject to the forms of election; but these forms served to cherish the importance of the great nobles, who were the electors, which was enhanced when[12] a third dynasty succeeded, and yet more when, at its termination, a long series of princes of various families occupied the throne.

---

[10] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 152.

[11] Schmidt, tome ii. pp. 410, 411.

The reign of Henry II., the last of the Saxon princes, formed a very suitable transition to the establishment of a new dynasty, not merely as it was itself a departure from the lineal succession, but yet more as it was agitated by various disturbances. The weakness of this sovereign had, however, consequences, extending beyond the introduction of another dynasty, and even directly affecting the development of the general system. About the year 1018[13] he was compelled by the Poles to consent to a peace, which loosened the connexion of Germany and their country; and in the year 1022[14], for the purpose of protecting his dominion in the south of Italy against the attacks of the Saracens, he granted an establishment to the Normans, who afterwards obtained possession of those provinces and Sicily. The latter measure had also an important bearing on the subsequent fortune of Germany itself, by giving a beginning to a government, which supported the papacy in its great struggle with the empire. In the year 1024, he died without issue, having recommended as his successor Conrad duke of Franconia.

---

[12] The Franconian dynasty, which was begun in the year 1024, was terminated in the year 1137. The Suabian, which then followed, was begun in the year 1138, and ended in the year 1254. After this time reigned emperors of various families until the year 1437, when began the regular series of Austrian emperors, which was terminated in the year 1740. The succession was ended with placing on the throne, in the year 1745, Francis grand-duke of Tuscany, and this family possessed the imperial dignity of Germany until its suppression in the year 1806.

[13] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 161. However Schmidt remarks, tome iii. p. 5. that Poland soon afterwards became again tributary to Germany; and Pfeffel, tome i. p. 184, says that the Polish government, in the year 1031, performed homage to Conrad II., for Silesia and Mazovia. The precise epoch of the independence of Poland is not known; but it is conjectured, that the Poles availed themselves of the interregnum in the thirteenth century, which preceded the elevation of Rodolph of Hapsburgh, elected in the year 1273. [14] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 364.

In this manner, after a period of one hundred and five years, was terminated the Saxon dynasty of Germany. This period exhibits a series of princes, who in general maintained that ascendency of the royal authority, which was necessary to the consolidation of the government of a country inhabited by various nations, all rude, warlike, and independent. The next period, that of the Franconian dynasty, presents a very different picture. Under this other dynasty we behold the royal authority, which had, as it seems, accomplished its purpose, degraded into insignificance, the secular and ecclesiastical aristocracies established on its ruin, and the cities first beginning to assume that importance, which was afterwards so favourable to the commerce of Germany.

The aggrandisement of the nobles and bishops of Germany, which became so considerable in the time of the Franconian sovereigns, had indeed been silently prepared in that of the Saxon, as the prosperity of the cities, which, after the termination of the Franconian line, was carried to its utmost height in the formation of the celebrated hanseatic league, was originally the growth of this other period. Each dynasty appears to have had its distinct and appropriate destination in the construction of the German constitution, but each at the same time appears to have made preparation for that, which was peculiarly the function of its successor. The reigns of Otho I.[15] and his successors afforded the most favourable opportunities for augmenting that greatness, to which the dukes had already attained, their frequent absences, occasioned by the new connexion of Italy with the German crown, leaving these nobles at liberty to establish and extend their privileges. The duchies accordingly under the Saxon emperors became generally hereditary[16], insomuch that, in failure of heirs male, they passed to the husbands of the daughters, or of the sisters, of the deceased. The claim of succession[17] was not, indeed, considered as founded upon an absolute and rigorous right. Otho I. refused to his brother-in-law a county, which he claimed as the nearest relative of the last count; and Henry II. gave the duchy of Carinthia to a

[15] Schmidt, tome ii. p. 442.

[16] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 167.

[17] Schmidt, tome ii. pp. 403, 404.

person of a different family. But when a ducal family had become wholly extinct[18], the estates of the province claimed a right of concurring in the election. The general estates also acquired under Henry II.[19] a prodigious increase of authority. Their consent became an essential condition of all public resolutions, and Ditmar called them the coadjutors of Henry, and the pillars of the government.

The progress of the ecclesiastical aristocracy was yet more rapid. The erroneous policy of Otho I., and still more the imprudent piety of Henry II., who has been named the father of the monks[20], accumulated on the clergy the most important rights, and the most valuable possessions. Otho, indeed, imagined that he could retain them in dependence on the royal power, by reserving to deputies appointed by the crown the government of the duchies and counties, which he first assigned to them; but his successors[21], and particularly Henry II., the last of the Saxon sovereigns, abandoned this prudent precaution, granting to the clergy those very charges, which had been instituted to restrain their power, and even uniting to them the government of the cities, in which the prelates held their residence. The inconsiderate liberality of the emperors was imitated by their subjects, who all regarded it as a religious duty to enrich the churches and monasteries; and interested motives co-operated with this mistaken piety, many proprietors voluntarily becoming vassals of the church, either that they might be enabled to avoid military duties and the provincial impositions, or that their properties might be protected from violence by the spiritual weapons of the clergy.

Conrad duke of Franconia was, in the year 1024, elected to succeed Henry II., and began the Franconian line of sovereigns. The southern or Frankish provinces of Germany had become impatient of the ascendency of the Saxons, and these yielded to their pretensions[22], either because their own princes were too old, or because they were not popular in the empire. Conrad was not, however, wholly unconnected with the Saxon line, for he was a descendant of a daughter of Otho I.

[18] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 167. [19] Ibid. p. 162. [20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid. p. 170. [22] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 7.

In the successive elevation of the northern and the southern dynasty, we may, perhaps, remark an adaptation to the general progress of the internal policy of Germany. In the earlier period of the government the ascendency of the Saxon family accelerated the improvement of the ruder provinces, and more effectually secured the frontier against the inroads of the Norman and Slavian tribes; in the latter period, when these advantages had been obtained, the advancement of a Franconian family, by giving more importance to the provinces bordering on the Rhine, had a natural tendency to favour the improvement of those commercial cities, which soon afterwards became important members of the Germanic body. Another considerable influence of the actual order of these dynasties may be perceived in the revolt, which in the reign of Henry IV. gave so much assistance to the efforts of the Roman see. If the Franconian had been the earlier dynasty, and the revolt had accordingly occurred in the southern provinces of Germany, when the sovereignty had been transferred to the Saxons, that defection must have shaken the more important provinces, instead of a distant and less improved portion of the territory, and would probably have too much deranged, or even destroyed, the government.

The first and second princes of the Franconian dynasty swayed the sceptre with a vigour, which did not promise a degradation of the royal authority. Conrad II. in particular distinguished himself as a prince of very superior endowments. He traversed without delay the principal provinces of Germany[23], and everywhere displayed so much sagacity and firmness, that he was proverbially compared with the illustrious Charlemagne. He appears indeed to have proposed to himself that prince as his model; and, though he could not venture to imitate him in suppressing the duchies, yet he endeavoured to palliate the mischief by uniting the more considerable of them in his own family. His reign, however, which comprehended only fifteen years, was not long enough for the full accomplishment of the plan, which he meditated; nor was his immediate successor, though a respectable sovereign, capable of prosecuting what he had begun. Instead, therefore, of effecting a permanent restoration of the royal authority[24], which would probably have been the result of his government, if it had been, as the course of nature would have easily allowed, a few years protracted, he only asserted pretensions, which awakened the jealousy of his subjects, and then left the empire to a prince, desirous, indeed, of supporting the dignity of the crown, but destitute of the sagacity indispensably requisite for maintaining it in circumstances of so great difficulty.

---

[23] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 10. It was proverbially said *sella Conradi habet ascensoria Caroli.*

Two events of general importance distinguished the reign of Conrad II.; the extinction of the petty kingdom of Burgundy, and the completion of the feudal law. By his activity and decision he acquired, in the year 1033[25], the possession of Burgundy, the succession of which had been ceded to his predecessor[26] Henry II., by its king Raoul, or Rodolph. This union, however, of Burgundy to the crown of Germany became but the epoch of the dissolution of that territory[27] in which the royal authority had been long disregarded. A number of little hereditary principalities were soon formed in it under the sovereignty of the empire, and at length the territory separated into parts, which successively attached themselves to the surrounding governments. The greater part of the states of Burgundy passed at different times, and by various titles, under the dominion of the kings of France, from which they had been anciently dismembered; some joined themselves to the confederacy of the Swiss republics; and the remainder, including the duchy of Savoy, were admitted among the states of the empire. The kingdom, since the union of its two parts, Burgundy Transjurane and Cisjurane, had subsisted one hundred and five years; and the growth of the general system seems to have at length provided organs capable of absorbing into its constitution what had thus long existed in a state of distinctness. The law of feuds had not yet allowed to rear-vassals the privileges, which it granted to their superiors, but at this time the same spirit of independence, which animated the nobles, had in Italy extended to the lower order, who accordingly demanded the enjoyment of similar advantages. Conrad, in the year 1037, terminated the contest, by conceding to the latter the liberties which they required[28], and from that country the new regulations were adopted in others, in which the feudal principles prevailed.

---

[24] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 81.
[25] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 185.
[26] Ibid., p. 160.
[27] Ibid., p. 186.

Henry III., son of Conrad II., though not equal to his father, was yet a prince of very eminent qualities[29]. Just, religious, brave, and attached to literature, he was well qualified to promote the general improvement of his dominions; and his vigour exalted the imperial authority to even a greater height than it had attained in the reign of Conrad. But as the exertions of this prince were not regulated by the prudence, which had directed those of his father, this aggrandisement was only the preparation of the downfal, which it suffered in the succeeding reign. Anxious for the domestic tranquillity of his kingdom, he prohibited those private wars, which the independence of the German nobles had already rendered frequent, and established and maintained a public peace throughout the whole country. This measure, if enforced with a cautious moderation, would have been eminently beneficial; but the severity with which Henry executed his ordinance[30], excited so much discontent among the nobles, whose violences it restrained, that in the latter part of his reign he was necessitated to bring the pope from Italy, to pacify their resentment. He was not less incautious in his conduct towards the Roman see, and by the ascendency, which he ventured to assume, he decided the fortune of the German monarchy.

Rome being distracted by the struggles of three popes[31], Henry, who had proceeded into Italy to restore the peace of the church, as he had already established the tranquillity of Germany, caused two of the rivals to be deposed, and having induced the third to withdraw his pretensions, procured the election of a German bishop, and the renewal of the ancient ordinance, which enjoined that a pope should not be elected without the consent of the emperor. The contingencies of this period enabled him to give to the restored ordinance a repeated operation. Clement II., the pope whom he had first caused to be elected, having died at the expiration of nine months[32], the Romans sent ambassadors to Germany, to demand a new pope from the emperor, who, by the advice of the bishops of Germany, and with the concurrence of the ambassadors, appointed another German, Damasus II. This pope also having died soon afterwards, they again sent ambassadors, and received from Henry his kinsman Leo IX. At the end of five years, Leo too having died, they commissioned the famous Hildebrand, then archdeacon of Rome, to choose, in the name of the clergy and people of that city, a pontiff from among the bishops of Germany.

---

[28] See note 12 of chapter viii.

[29] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 201.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., pp. 194—196.

This decisive control, so repeatedly exercised, could not fail to irritate the papal court, though the situation of the Roman see rendered it then impossible to resist. Agitated within by the contests of competitors for the ecclesiastical sovereignty, and harassed from without by the Normans, recently established in the south of Italy[33], the papal court was at this time forced into an admission of the pretensions of the emperor. But an incident, which occurred to Leo IX., gave occasion to the adoption of a different policy. That pontiff, having been defeated and taken prisoner by his Norman enemies, was treated by them with the most profound respect; and their duke, restoring the lands, which he had usurped from the church, declared himself the vassal of the Roman see. The Norman state was, therefore, soon regarded as the sure ally of the papal power, and in the reign of the succeeding emperor, it enabled the pontiff to humble the authority of that crown, on which his see had lately been so entirely dependent.

Historians have concurred in remarking, how critically unfortunate was the premature death of Henry III.[34] He had taken, says Schmidt[35], such steps in regard to the popes and German princes, as either should not have been taken at all, or should have been maintained. Whether they could have been maintained, if a longer reign had been allowed to him, is at least extremely uncertain, since just before his death he found himself obliged to have recourse to the pontiff for pacifying the princes of Germany. But however this may have been, the premature termination of his reign, succeeded as it was by a long minority, left the way open for all the enterprises of domestic and external aggression, which his government had provoked. In this view both his character, and the time of his death, appear to have been accurately adjusted to the crisis, in which he ruled the empire. The friend of order and of justice, he promoted the prosperity of his country during his own government, while the vigorous, though indiscreet, exercise of his authority, prepared those irritations, which afterwards destroyed the ascendency of the royal power; and dying in the flower of his age, and just, as Pfeffel has remarked[36], when he was going to take the most effectual measures for securing the peace of the church, the glory of the empire, and the internal tranquillity of Germany, he left these discontents to acquire consistency and power under the feeble government of a minor, who was then scarcely six years old.

---

[32] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 197—199. [33] They had formed their first establishment in Italy in the year 1029. Henry III. began his reign in the year 1039. [34] He died, aged thirty-nine years.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 193. [35] Hist. des Allemands, tome iii. p. 40.

In the year 1056 began the reign of Henry IV., memorable for the violent contest with the papacy, which shook the authority of the German crown, and relaxed the combination of the government. All its circumstances appear to have co-operated to the catastrophe, by which it was distinguished. Commencing with a long minority, it afforded an ample opportunity for the development of the discontents, which the imprudent energy of the preceding reign had excited and fomented; and continuing through the half of a century, it allowed also a sufficient time for the completion of the revolution, in which they naturally terminated. The personal character too of this prince was singularly accommodated to the result of this agitated period. Having been neglected in his education[37], while rival prelates were contending for the regency of his kingdom, he indulged in the earlier part of his own government those intemperate passions, which contributed to alienate from him the higher classes of his subjects; but the good qualities of his heart, and the resolute vigour of his conduct, attached to his cause the lower orders, which could not be affected by his caprices, and especially the new order of the inhabitants of towns which was at this time rising into importance, and in reward of this attachment became the favoured object of the royal encouragement.

---

[36] Nouvel Abrége Chron. de l'Hist. et du Droit Publique d'Allemagne, tome i. p. 201.

[37] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 42, &c.

The minority of Henry IV. was disturbed by a violent contention between the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen for the government of his kingdom[38], and the care of his person, an apt prelude to the ecclesiastical usurpation, by which his manhood was so calamitously harassed. Such a contention naturally afforded a favourable opportunity for the discontents, which were then ready to break forth in Saxony. It also happened, that the archbishop of Bremen, who prevailed in the contest, had been exposed by the situation of his see to various provocations, which had irritated him against the nobles of northern Germany. The irritation of the minister was communicated to the king, who, on his own part, had sufficient cause for dissatisfaction. The Saxons, jealous of the great authority acquired by the Franconian princes[39], and considering the minority of the reigning sovereign as a crisis favourable to their wishes, had begun to indulge themselves in an open expression of their sentiments; they then proceeded to a contemptuous disregard of the royal authority, practising the most unrestrained violence, and in particular pillaging the churches; and at length a conspiracy was formed among them, for destroying the king, and placing one of their own party on the throne. Various occurrences inflamed the animosity, which was thus kindled between the monarch and a large portion of his subjects, until, in the seventeenth year of Henry's reign, the Saxons were provoked to an open insurrection by the fortresses, which he had caused to be erected, that he might retain them in subjection.

On this occasion the influence of the imperfect combination of the German people first became conspicuous. The Saxons, proud of the magnitude of their territory, but regarded by the southern Germans as a people of a conquered province, could never cease to feel that they were a body distinct from their fellow-subjects, and were therefore always ready to act as a party in the empire. While Saxony gave princes to Germany, the inconvenience of this want of combination was not apparent, because the force of this great province was associated with that of the crown; but when its princes ceased to sway the royal sceptre, it became a standing and formidable opposition to the government, espousing and supporting whatever party was adverse to the sovereign.

---

[38] Schmidt, tome iii. pp. 45—50.

[39] Ibid., pp. 50—58.

In the fourth year of the reign of Henry IV., a pontiff was nominated by the regency, as had been practised in the preceding. This pontiff, however[40], who assumed the name of Nicholas II., immediately issued a decree, which may be considered as the precursor of the great contest of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. He enjoined that, when the see of Rome should be vacant, the new pontiff should be selected from the clergy of the Roman church in preference to all others; and, though it professed to reserve the rights of Henry, yet, by declaring these rights to be derived from a concession made particularly to himself, it made preparation for their suppression. Nor did the court of Rome propose to confine itself to a mere war of words. The Normans established in the south of Italy had already been enlisted in the cause of the church, the pontiff, Leo IX., having created their chieftain, Robert Guiscard, duke of Calabria, Puglia, and Sicily, under the sovereignty of the holy see, and having constituted him and his successors the protectors of the freedom of the papal elections.

The object of these measures was manifested in the following year, when, on the death of Nicholas, the independent party in Rome[41], supported by the Normans, rejected a pope, whom Henry had selected, and substituted another in his place. The great contest was, however, reserved for Hildebrand, who had, in a subordinate station, directed these preparations, but was not himself placed on the papal throne until the year 1073, or twelve years after the advancement of this pontiff. It seemed as if the principal agent had been kept back, until the scene of his exertion had been particularly made ready for his decisive efforts. In that year the scene was completely prepared for his reception, the discontents of the Saxons just then breaking out into an open insurrection[42].

[40] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 206. [41] Ibid., p. 208. [42] Ibid., p. 211.

The imprudent impetuosity of Henry was the character best suited to favour the enterprises, conceived by the cool, though daring ambition, of Hildebrand, or, as he was named on his advancement, Gregory VII. Forgetful of the proceedings so plainly indicating the designs of Rome, of the decree of Nicholas and of the election of his successor, he incautiously appealed to the pontiff against the insurgents of Saxony[43]. The Saxons having immediately retaliated by bringing numerous accusations against their sovereign, Gregory seized the opportunity of constituting himself the judge of the emperor. The pontiff accordingly sent his legates to a German diet, to charge the monarch with the crimes, of which he had been accused by his subjects, to accuse him also of impiety, in maintaining the right of investing bishops with the temporalities of their sees, and to require that he should attend a synod shortly to be convened, before which he should answer to all these allegations. Henry dismissed the legates with disdain, and in a national synod, assembled at Worms, caused a resolution to be formed, declaring Gregory to be deprived of the pontificate, for having dared to assume the character of judge of his sovereign, and for various other offences. Gregory replied by excommunicating and deposing Henry, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance; and the insurrection of Saxony was immediately renewed, under the pretence of supporting the sacred cause of the church.

Thus in the twentieth year of the reign of Henry IV. began the struggle of the imperial and papal powers, which through the remaining thirty years of his life subjected him to the most degrading humiliations, excited his sons successively to revolt[44], and finally deprived him of his crown. Henry was in the beginning desirous of averting the danger by a timely submission, and to prevent a journey, which the pontiff proposed to make into Germany, waited on him in Italy, where he underwent the most mortifying penances; but, the pontiff having about the same time instigated and approved the election of another sovereign, Henry perceived that his only hope of safety was in resolution, and determined to pursue his adversary to destruction.

---

[43] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 214, 215.

[44] His eldest son Conrad was induced to revolt in the year 1093. He died in the year 1101, and Henry, his second son, revolted in the year 1105.

The pontiff was quickly forced to yield to the fury of the exasperated monarch, and, being driven to seek refuge among his Norman friends in southern Italy, ended his life in exile from the see. The cause however survived the champion. Another revolt in Germany afforded its assistance, and the emperor was overpowered in his turn. Three succeeding pontiffs[45] renewed the decrees of Gregory, and the second of them was careful to strengthen the important connexion, which had been formed with the Normans[46], by giving to their dukes the famous bull of the Sicilian monarchy, which constituted him and his successors legates of the see of Rome. The contest, indeed, languished under the successors of Gregory, and the Saxons having become weary of insurrection, Henry seemed to have securely established his authority in Germany; but, just as he was preparing to visit Italy, that he might bring the pontiff to an accommodation, he was encountered by a rebellion of his second son[47], and having been induced to confide in his expressions of repentance, was arrested, and compelled to abdicate his crown.

Henry V., though advanced to the throne by the influence of the papal censures, resisted the pretensions, which were immediately obtruded on him by the pontiff[48]. The disturbances of Germany were accordingly again excited; but Henry, having at length succeeded in repressing his domestic enemies, compelled the pontiff, Calixtus II., to consent to a *concordat*, by which the claims of Rome were compromised after a struggle of sixty years. The freedom of ecclesiastical elections, for which this convention stipulated, did not satisfy the ambition of Rome; and the substitution of the sceptre for the cross and ring in the formality of investiture was of little importance, since it was still admitted, that ecclesiastics were bound to the discharge of all the feudal duties.

The efforts of the papacy, notwithstanding the *concordat*, were renewed in the following reign, and with greater success. The *concordat* however seems to have possessed a permanent importance, as it precluded that direct triumph of the papacy, which would have established an ecclesiastical sovereignty in Germany. The progressive formation of the system of Europe appears to have required, that the combination of the German monarchy should be relaxed in the struggle, and the government be thus transformed into a loosely connected confederation; and this was best effected by the indirect and insidious efforts of an adversary, who had been compelled to renounce the hope of an open and acknowledged superiority, and was thus precluded from introducing a new principle of political combination into the place of the royal power.

---

[45] Victor III., Urban II., and Pascal II. [46] See note 24 in chapter x. [47] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 224. [48] Ibid., p. 230.

Henry V. had been secured from the misfortune, which overwhelmed his father, by not having any son to become a leader of rebellion; but the same circumstance, which protected this monarch, enfeebled the succeeding reign by abandoning the government to an election. The new sovereign, Lothaire II., who was indebted to the archbishop of Mentz for his advancement[49], was obliged to enter into a stipulation[50], by which he renounced a part of the advantages obtained by his predecessor. He promised that he would not be present at the elections of prelates, and that in the investiture of the persons elected, he would content himself with an oath of fidelity, instead of requiring the performance of homage.

This reign of twelve years, in correspondence to such a commencement, exhibits a continual diminution of the authority of the crown. The very first measure indeed of Lothaire, after his advancement, was inconsistent with independence, for he immediately solicited of the pope a confirmation of his election[51], an act of submission thenceforward required of his successors as an indispensable duty. In the latter part of his reign[52] he descended to a state of direct and formal vassalage, though not for his German dominions, having consented to accept as a fief of the papal see the extensive possessions of the countess Matilda, which had been bequeathed by her to that see, but had in part been held under the German emperor. Lothaire, indeed, did not accede voluntarily to these degrading submissions. He is said to have been a prince, who, long before he was advanced to the throne, had acquired among his countrymen a high reputation for valour, probity, and prudence, the last of which qualities appears to have determined his conduct in all the sacrifices, which he made of his imperial dignity. Not being supported on the throne by the authority of hereditary succession, he was compelled to secure his possession of it by conciliating the German nobility, as well as the see of Rome; and that body would probably have been dissatisfied, if he had rejected the condition proposed by the pontiff for the grant of the possessions of the countess Matilda, as[53] he would thus have abandoned the only expedient by which he could recover the property of the empire.

---

[49] Four princes were put in nomination on this occasion, of whom one had married the sister of Henry V., and another was his nephew. Lothaire appears to have been preferred to these by the archbishop, for want of all connexion with that family.

[50] Schmidt, tome iii. pp. 332—336.

[51] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 244.

[52] This transaction was represented in a painting, with an inscription, by which it appears to have been intended, that the homage should be referred to the imperial crown:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores;
Post homo fit papæ, recipit quo dante coronam.

The reign of Lothaire II., which was concluded in the year 1137, terminated the Franconian dynasty of Germany, which had occupied a hundred and thirteen years, a period memorable for the degradation of the royal authority, and the aggrandisement of the aristocracy. The papal power[54] was the grand agent in this important disorganization of the government, assisted, however, by the authority with which the preceding dynasty had invested the clergy, by the jealousy of the dukes, and by the turbulent discontent of the Saxons. This power too the emperor Henry III. had provoked by the dominion, which he exercised over the papal elections, while, by the same conduct, he interested all the clergy of Italy in his support; and the imprudence of the last of the Saxon, and of the first of the Franconian princes, had suffered another, and yet more effectual support, to be prepared for it, by permitting the Normans to form in the southern provinces of Italy an

The emperor Frederic I., in the year 1157, obliged the pontiff to remove the picture.—Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 296, 297.

[53] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 348.

[54] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 253, &c.

establishment, naturally interested in maintaining for its own security the independence of the papacy. If the effect produced was considerable, the machinery employed, it must be admitted, was great, various, and complicated.

As the Saxon monarchs had raised the clergy as a protection against the nobles, so did the latter princes of the Franconian dynasty favour the towns as a bulwark against both[55], There was yet indeed no example of a municipal constitution[56]. The Othos, agreeably to their practice of aggrandising the bishops, had intrusted to them the government of the principal towns of their demesnes. Henry V., when he had witnessed in the troubled reign of his father the mischievous consequences of this measure, successively revoked these inconsiderate concessions, and placed the greater part of the towns in their ancient condition of immediate dependence on the crown. But, though the towns were thus only transferred from one state of dependence to another, the government of Henry V. was most favourable to their prosperity. Artisans[57] having all been considered as in rank inferior to that of free citizens, the latter were hindered from engaging in commerce, which was, consequently, in a very languishing condition. The Slavians of Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, and Holstein, had profited of these prejudices of the haughty Germans, and, from the beginning of the eleventh century, had carried on, with their own productions and manufactures, an extensive traffic in the northern countries of Europe. The policy of Henry V. put an end to a system so injurious to Germany, by declaring artisans and traders to be possessed of the rights of free citizens. A commercial revolution was speedily effected in favour of the Germans, and their traders, in less than a hundred and fifty years, acquired a power, which more than once overawed the sovereigns of Sweden and Denmark. Nor was the enfranchisement of artisans the only expedient employed for the encouragement of towns, a precise term being appointed, after which a fugitive slave, who had sought refuge in a town, could not be claimed by his master.

---

[55] Tribes indeed and communities were formed for the maintenance of order.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 266. But these possessed no political privileges, like the corporations of Florence, which were formed in the year 1266, or a century and a half after the associations here mentioned. [56] Ibid. tome i. pp. 266—268. [57] Ibid.

The connexion of Italy with the crown of Germany resembled that of the French provinces with the crown of England, so far as, by rendering distant expeditions frequently necessary[58], it gave occasion to the employment of mercenary troops, and to a system of taxation, by which they were maintained. But nothing can more clearly show, how much the operation of the same cause is modified by a diversity of circumstances, than the different influences of these two combinations on the political constitutions of the two countries. The scutages introduced into England, where the royal authority was vigorous, comprehended the higher orders of the people, and gave a beginning to that community of feeling, which afterwards united the aristocracy with the commons in one great society of freemen; but in Germany, where the royal authority was continually yielding more and more to the ascendency of a growing aristocracy, the new system of taxation, instead of forming a bond of political union, became a yoke of partial oppression. The nobles[59], whom it was there necessary to conciliate, could not be required to submit to any pecuniary exactions; the citizens soon felt themselves sufficiently powerful to follow the convenient example of the nobility; and the burthen of supplying the necessities of the state, thus shifted from the upper and more opulent classes, devolved upon the peasants, whom it at once oppressed and degraded[60].

---

[58] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 237; tome iv. p. 89.

[59] Ibid. tome iv. p. 90.

[60] Germany, at the conclusion of this period, was bounded on the west by the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuse, and the Scheldt; on the south by the summits of the Alps; on the north by the German ocean and the river Eyder: on the east by the Leytha and the Warta, which separated it from Hungary, and by the Oder, which divided it from Poland. The provinces lying beyond the rivers just mentioned, and particularly those extending to the Vistula, acknowledged some sort of dependence on the empire, the nature of which cannot be determined.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 270.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the history of Germany, from the death of Lothaire II. in the year 1137, *to that of Albert I. in the year* 1308.

Suabian dynasty begun in the year 1138—Origin of the Guelf and Ghibelin parties—Electoral College begun, 1152—The kingdom of the two Sicilies connected with Germany, 1194—Struggle with the papacy renewed—Hanseatic league formed, 1241—League of the Rhine, 1247—Extreme degradation of the imperial authority, 1250—Series of emperors of various families begun, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies separated from the empire, 1254—Territorial sovereignty of the states of Germany established — Rodolph of Hapsburgh emperor, 1273—Confederacy of the Swiss cantons, 1308.

If we trace the German dynasties on a map of the country, we shall observe them proceeding in an almost direct progress from the north to the south, as they began in Saxony, advanced through Franconia to Suabia, and then after some fluctuation, chiefly in the adjacent territories, finally settled in Austria, so that the map of the empire almost assumes the character of a chart of its history. The correspondences to that history are very remarkable and interesting. That these dynasties should have been begun in Saxony was suited, as has been noticed, to the wild and exposed situation of that extensive province, and served to prepare it for its important functions in the empire. That Franconia should next have enjoyed the privilege of giving sovereigns to the empire, served both to provoke the jealousy of Saxony, which had, in this period, a mighty influence in the struggle of the Roman see, and to give encouragement to the central towns of Germany, which, in the next period, began to form two great confederacies of commerce. That the imperial dignity should then be removed from Franconia to Suabia, withdrew from those towns the presence of a sovereign authority, and abandoned them to the free exercise of the energies, which they had recently acquired. The further removal of the imperial dignity from Suabia, with its intervening fluctuation, while it favoured the increasing privileges of the aristocracy and of the towns, connected with the crown, by the advancement of a Swiss family, pretensions dangerous to the liberty of Swisserland, and thus gave the impulse to the independence of that country. Austria finally, with its important appendages, gave at length an external support to a sovereignty, which had lost its interior stability, and at the same time formed a bulwark to cover its other dominions from the assaults of the new monarchy established by the Turks in the eastern region of Europe.

Lothaire II. having died unexpectedly, without male issue, the Franconian dynasty was terminated, and, after some competition, Conrad, son of the duke of Suabia, began the series of Suabian emperors, which subsisted during a hundred and sixteen years. The election of Conrad, the third of that name, was the result of an apprehension of the despotic character and extended possessions of his rival[1], the duke of Saxony and Bavaria.

The Suabian period was the grand crisis of the combination of Germany and Italy, which may indeed be considered as virtually dissolved at its termination, in the middle of the thirteenth century. In Germany it exalted the aristocracy even to the same level with the sovereign, and gave to the towns such encouragement and such opportunity, that they constituted a co-ordinate authority; in Italy it generated the entire independence of the cities of the northern provinces, and in those of the south gave occasion to the establishment of the family of Anjou, which began a new arrangement of political relations for that country.

The power of Rome, which, wielded by Gregory VII., had shaken the throne of Germany in the Franconian period, was again turned against it in that of the Suabian emperors, in which Innocent III. and Gregory IX. arose to direct those shocks, which caused it to totter to its base. The nobles of Germany were not, however, in this, as in the former period, much disposed to co-operate with the pontiff, whose denunciations they had learned to regard merely as the measures of a political adversary[2]; and Italy accordingly became the chief theatre of the mutual hostility of the two powers. Projects of foreign ambition, especially of Italian aggrandisement, almost engrossed the exertions of the Suabian emperors, and involved their whole race in destruction. The bonds of the German government were in the mean time gradually and tranquilly relaxed; the monarchy was transformed into a great aggregate of various states almost wholly independent; and it only remained that some new adjustment should be provided, which should prevent an entire separation. This adjustment was afterwards supplied in the advancement of the Austrian emperors, for which preparation was made, within the period now considered, by the election of Rodolph of Hapsburgh, the founder of their family.

---

[1] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 274.

[2] Ibid., pp. 349—357.

The very first act of Conrad III., who began the Suabian dynasty, gave occasion to the great distinction of parties, which, though German in its origin, became extended to Italy, where it prevailed to the middle of the fifteenth century. Availing himself of the jealousy[3], with which many of the great nobles of Germany were inflamed against his rival, the duke of Saxony and Bavaria, he caused him to be proscribed in a diet of the empire, and gave his duchies of Saxony and Bavaria to two other princes, thus beginning a dismemberment of his possessions, which was completed by the succeeding emperor, Frederic I. The military words of the opposite parties, in the contest which ensued, were Welf, the name of the brother of the proscribed duke, and Waiblingen, that of a small town belonging to a brother of the emperor; and from these have been derived the appellations of Guelf and Ghibelin, which characterised the opponents and supporters of the imperial authority. The German contention was terminated by an accommodation in the year 1236, when it had subsisted not quite a century[4]. In

---

[3] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 274—276, 304, 305. In the Saxon family there had been an accumulation of possessions so extraordinary, that its territory extended from the ocean to the Tiber. The German possessions consisted of the duchies of Saxony, Westphalia, Angrivaria, and Bavaria; the county palatine of Saxony, and the county of Holstein, with various dependencies; and also of Styria and the Tyrol. The Italian possessions were those of the countess Matilda. —Ibid., pp. 305, 288—290.

[4] The accommodation consisted in establishing the duchy of Brunswick in favour of the posterity of the duke of Saxony.—Ibid., p. 354.

Italy, where it was a struggle, not of families, but of parties, it was of much longer duration.

The remainder of the reign of this prince, occupied as it was by the internal dissensions of Rome[5], in which, however, he was induced to support the authority of the papal see, and by a disastrous crusade[6], in which he lost his entire army, was well fitted to favour the growing importance of the nobles. The diets accordingly acquired in this reign a new degree of authority[7]. Conrad undertook nothing without consulting them, and even declared in a charter, that it had been framed agreeably to the judgment of the princes, in conformity to his general practice. His friendly connexion with the Roman see, so unusual with the German sovereigns, was beneficial to his country, inasmuch as it gave occasion to the introduction of the Roman or civil law[8].

The death of Conrad III., in the year 1152, gave being to the electoral college of Germany. The distractions of Italy[9] where the king of Sicily excited an opposition to the authority of the imperial governors, the internal dissensions of the city of Rome, which was still a scene of anarchy and confusion, and the pretension, which the deprived duke of Saxony and Bavaria, already restored to the former of these two duchies, was perpetually pressing in regard to the other, combined to form such an assemblage of difficulties, to be encountered by the successor of this prince, that he himself deemed it expedient to recommend to the states of Germany the election of his nephew Frederic, instead of that of an infant son, whom he chose rather to commit to the protection of his cousin. In the election accordingly the dukes of Germany, together with the archbishops of the province of the Rhine, exercised a power of pre-option with such a decided preponderance of authority, as entitled their assembly to be considered as an electoral college, and in a charter, which was issued four years afterwards[10], electoral princes are actually mentioned. The mode of electing the sovereigns of Germany appears to have been borrowed from that[11], which was observed in the elections of the Roman pontiffs. The chief princes assumed in the former case the same privilege of pre-option[12], which in the latter was vested in the cardinal bishops; and the consent of the inferior nobility and of the people was gradually neglected, in the same manner as in the papal elections, the approbation of the inferior clergy and of the Roman citizens was at length regarded as unnecessary.

---

[5] Arnold of Brescia was the leader of the insurgents. By his advice the people of Rome sent deputies, to invite the emperor to fix his residence in that ancient capital, and to reduce the power of the papacy within its original limits. Conrad, after much hesitation, was determined by the eloquence of saint Bernard, the agent of the Roman see, to attach himself to the pontiff.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 279.

[6] Ibid., p. 281. [7] Ibid., p. 283. [8] Ibid., p. 284. [9] Ibid., p. 286.

Frederic I., who succeeded Conrad III., being a prince of superior ability, and of yet greater energy, was captivated by the brilliant, though delusive prospect, of establishing his authority firmly over the Italian dependencies of his crown, and to the attainment of this object directed efforts, which might, if employed at home[13], have transformed the government of Germany into a well-combined monarchy, and thus have confounded the system of Europe. As these efforts were actually directed, this prince was compelled to ratify the independence of the associated cities of Lombardy, and his death became the epoch of the domestic degradation of the government. Indeed, even in his life[14], a decisive blow was given to the imperial power, by granting a legal sanction to the practice of private defiances, which directly militated against the paramount control of the sovereign. A crusade, in which, after his Italian failure, he was induced to embark, enabled the princes of Germany to perfect their independence.

---

[10] By this charter, issued in the year 1156, the margravate of Austria was erected into an hereditary duchy, its duke being ranked among the palatine arch-dukes, and after *the electoral princes.*

[11] Schmidt, tome iv. pp. 76, 77.

[12] In the *golden bull*, issued in the year 1356, it was determined that the number of the electors should continue to be seven, in honour, says Pfeffel, tome i. p. 522, of the seven candlesticks of the apocalypse, or according to Schmidt, tome iv. pp. 80, 81, either in imitation of the cardinal electors, or for precluding an equality of votes. An eighth electorate was however constituted in the year 1648, in favour of the prince palatine; and a ninth in the year 1692, in favour of the duke of Brunswick-Lunenburgh-Hanover.—Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 343—419.

[13] Schmidt, tome iv. p. 47.

[14] Ibid., p. 109. Unable to proscribe the practice, he endeavoured to regulate it, and among other regulations required that, whoever should choose to attack another, should apprize him of it at least three days before. A contemporary historian, describing the violences then commonly practised, says that 'every man carried steel and a flint. to be prepared for setting fire to buildings.'—Ibid., p. 114. Buildings of stone were still very rare.—Ibid., p. 111.

The Sicilian kingdom having been the support of the Roman see in his great struggle with Henry IV., it was a natural object of the ambition of an enterprising emperor, to seek to acquire to his family a title to the occupation of the rival throne; and it happened that the circumstances of the reigning family of that kingdom presented Frederic with a favourable opportunity. As William II. of Sicily had no children, the succession belonged to his aunt Constantia, and the emperor effected a marriage between this princess and his son, Henry VI., by whom he was succeeded. A combination so very alarming to the interests of the papacy, had at first been strenuously resisted; but, when an account had been received of the successes of the celebrated Saladin[15], who had even possessed himself of Jerusalem, it was found necessary to conciliate the German monarch, as the only prince then capable of repairing a loss so grievous. The marriage was concluded, and the emperor led his forces to the east, where he died in a career of success.

The policy of favouring the towns of Germany was zealously embraced by Frederic I., who attached to the crown many[16], which had belonged to the dismembered demesnes of Saxony and Bavaria, admitting the citizens to the honour of knighthood, then high in estimation. The emperors had been prohibited from uniting duchies and principalities with the crown[17], but no provision had been made for the case of towns, and this prince was particularly careful to connect with it towns, which commerce had rendered considerable, such as Lubeck and Ratisbon. From this time the emperors were continually employed in conferring privileges and permissions, which were so much valued and desired[18], that the towns had recourse even to violence, that they might be placed under the immediate protection of the sovereign. Nor was the prosperity, which was the consequence of such protection, confined to the towns immediately subject to the sovereign, for the princes also, perceiving the wealth attracted by the commerce of the imperial cities[19], became desirous of possessing a similar advantage, and for this purpose granted similar privileges to the towns situated within their dependencies.

---

[15] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 308. [16] Ibid., p. 310. [17] Schmidt, tome iv. p. 65. [18] Ibid.

Frederic having died in the east, his son Henry VI. was placed upon the throne, and began that short series of agitated reigns, which was interposed between the long and important reigns of the two Frederics[20]. That of Henry, which lasted but seven years, was engrossed by the prosecution of his claim to the throne of the Sicilies, which arose from his marriage with Constantia. The right of succession[21] had just before devolved to that princess by the death of her nephew; but, Henry being hindered from proceeding immediately to take possession of the kingdom, an illegitimate member of the royal family caused himself to be acknowledged as sovereign, and held the government to his death, which occurred four years afterwards. The claim of the emperor was then admitted, and he was crowned at Palermo. Within three years, however, he himself died, and the connexion of the two governments was dissolved, to be more permanently formed after fifteen years by the succession of his son, the second Frederic, to the throne of Germany.

This prince should have been the immediate successor of his father in that throne, but he was then a child only four years old, and Innocent III. was just then advanced to the papacy. The able pontiff[22], deeply sensible of the importance of disjoining Sicily from the empire, laboured to deprive the Suabian family of the imperial throne. The discontents of Germany were accordingly employed to raise up first one, then another rival, of the young prince; and these efforts were so far successful, that he was set aside twice successively from the throne of Germany, and the desired separation of the two crowns maintained during fifteen years.

---

[19] Schmidt, tome iv. p. 73. [20] Frederic I. reigned from the year 1152 to the year 1190, or thirty-eight years; Frederic II. from the year 1212 to the year 1250, or an equal time. The intervening twenty-two years comprehended the three reigns of Henry VI., Philip, and Otho IV. [21] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 314, 316. Schmidt, tome iii. p. 462. [22] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 324.

In this interval the German throne was first filled by Philip, the uncle of the young prince, who, from being regent, was made sovereign to oppose the intrigues of the pontiff, and the animosity of a disaffected party. Philip, being in truth an usurper, and also being exposed to the hostility of Rome as a member of the Suabian family[23], was compelled to seek support by distributing among the nobles of Suabia and Franconia the large demesnes, which his family possessed in these provinces. His short reign was a struggle in defence of his crown, which when he had almost brought to a termination, he perished by the hand of an assassin.

Philip was succeeded by Otho IV., who had been previously opposed to him by the papal see. This prince, though the creature of the pontiff, soon involved himself in a contention with Rome[24], as he immediately refused to fulfil the engagements, by which he had bound himself, when he received the imperial crown. He was accordingly assailed by the anathemas of the Roman see[25], and driven to the necessity of submitting himself to the judgment of the states of Germany[26]. He was then induced by his kinsman[27], John king of England, to attack the king of France, in which enterprise he lost his whole army. His brief government was concluded by a virtual abdication, as he remained during the last four years of his life shut up in a fortress, in perfect inaction. To such an account of the reign of Otho IV. it was scarcely necessary that the historian should add his observation, that the authority of the states then made an extraordinary progress.

---

[23] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 324. [24] Ibid., p. 332. This, which is the most ancient capitulation of the popes now extant, and has served as a model of all which followed, omits all mention of the *concordat* of Calixtus, maintains the appellant jurisdiction of the papacy in all cases ecclesiastical and spiritual, and stipulates for the entire guaranty of the territories of the countess Matilda, with all other possessions in Italy claimed by the pontiff. These territories were specified to be all the country from Radecofani to Coperano, the marquisate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the lands of the countess Matilda, the county of Bertin Oro, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the province of the Pentapolis.—Schmidt, tome iii. pp. 483—486. [25] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 334. [26] Ibid., p. 335. [27] He was son of Matilda, a sister of John.

These three reigns thus distracted, and thus transient, the whole comprehending but twenty-two years, formed a suitable prelude to one, the confusion of which was to give being to the two great commercial confederations of the hanse-towns and of the Rhine, and was to be followed by the extreme relaxation of the government. Indeed the other sovereigns also of the Suabian dynasty may be considered as concerned in preparing the agitations of the reign of Frederic II. Conrad III. gave being to the grand division of the Guelf and Ghibelin parties, which long divided Germany; and Frederic I. by concluding the marriage of his son, formed the connexion with the Sicilian kingdom, which alarmed the apprehensions of the Roman see, and determined it to endeavour to set aside the Suabian dynasty.

The disappointment experienced by the Roman see in the advancement of Otho IV., raised Frederic II. to the throne of his fathers, in contradiction to the plan of depriving that family of the crowns of Germany and the empire. At the age of four years[28] this prince had succeeded to the crown of Sicily in consequence of the death of his mother Constantia, who had recommended him to the papal protection, as the only method of securing his safety. Fifteen years afterwards the throne of Germany became vacant by the death of Otho; and as the pontiff, in his resentment at the conduct of that emperor, had already taken measures for substituting in his place the young king of Sicily, he was immediately elected. The pontiff, indeed, endeavoured to prevent the mischievous influence of this departure from his former policy[29], by renewing the capitulation concluded with Otho; the emperor also, to remove his apprehension, ceded to his eldest son the kingdom of Sicily[30], and decreed that it should never be incorporated with the dominions of the empire. The cession of the emperor was, however, inoperative. The son of Frederic was only nine years old, when the engagement was contracted, and when the young prince, who had also been created king of the Romans[31], or presumptive heir of the empire, was at length induced to hazard a revolt, the emperor caused him to be deposed in a diet, and thrown into confinement, in which he died not long afterwards. Conrad IV., by whom Frederic was succeeded, was then elected king of the Romans, and after the death of his father became possessed of both crowns.

---

[28] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 494. [29] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 338. [30] Ibid., p. 344. [31] This title was first assumed by Henry II. before he received from the pope the imperial crown. This son of Frederic II.

What was the internal situation of Germany in the beginning of the reign of Frederic II., may be sufficiently conceived from the oath, which he required from his nobles, that they would not levy unjust tolls[32], nor coin false money, nor rob on the highways. Such a state of society however, deplorable as it was, favoured the grand result of this period of the history of that country, the formation of commercial confederacies. Amidst the general insecurity the towns perceived the necessity of associating for the protection of their trade[33], and thus did the prosperity of German traffic arise directly out of circumstances, which appeared to threaten its entire destruction. But this insecurity could not have had an influence so beneficial, if other circumstances, very curiously combined, had not at this time invigorated the commerce of the empire.

The powerful duke of Saxony having been deprived of his territories by Frederic I., who distributed them among various persons[34], the Danes renounced the dependence on the empire, in which they had been held by that great chieftain, and even extended their dominion over Holstein, and the Slavian provinces of Pomerania and Mecklenburg. These successes of the Danes were soon afterwards prosecuted further, and their monarch assumed the title of king of the Venedi or Vandals, which has been ever since retained by the sovereigns of Denmark and Sweden. In this manner the Danes had successively possessed themselves of all the provinces situated between the Elbe and the Oder[35], and had pushed their conquests along the shores of the Baltic, to the mouth of the Dwina, and even into Livonia. Though the possession of these extensive states

---

was the first presumptive heir of the emperor so intitled in the lifetime of his father. Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 162, 344. [32] Ibid., p. 340.

[33] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 559 ; tome iv. pp. 22, 23, 132. [34] Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 306, 325. [35] Ibid., pp. 344, 345.

rendered the king of Denmark the arbiter of the maritime commerce of Germany, Frederic II. was compelled to recognise the new kingdom of the Vandals, and to confirm the enjoyment of it to the Danish monarch. Fortunately however for the Germans, the personal misconduct of this prince overturned, at the end of forty years, this fabric of the Danish greatness, and freed the commerce of the empire from the restraint, which it had imposed. An act of perfidious violence, which he perpetrated on the wife of a count of Mecklenburg, became the signal of a general insurrection, for which the people had been prepared by the oppressive government of Denmark. Some of the subject provinces, as the Prussians and Esthonians, resumed their former independence; others, particularly the Pomeranians[36], and the people of Mecklenburg and Holstein, returned under the sovereignty of the empire; and thus the Baltic at once became open to the industry and enterprise of the German traders, excited and animated by the novelty, as much as by the importance of the opportunity. The degradation of the great duke of Saxony appears thus to have made room for the independence and maritime prosperity of Denmark, which continued to possess a commercial ascendency long enough to create communications for the rising commerce of Germany, and yielded to that empire, as soon as the impediment, which it would have presented, must have been felt to be inconvenient and embarrassing.

The reign of Frederic II. was the period of the concluding struggle of the papal and imperial governments[37]. The contest, which had been begun with the emperor Henry IV. by Gregory VII. soon after the middle of the eleventh century, was in the thirteenth maintained against this prince by four pontiffs[38] with augmented violence, as the subject of contention was at this time, not the aggrandisement, but the independence of the papacy. The former struggle had been for power; in this the Roman see, surrounded by the dominions of Frederic, was reduced to contend for safety.

---

[36] The city of Hamburg derived most advantage from this revolution. Having procured from the counts of Holstein a confirmation of the privileges, which it had before purchased from the Danish monarch, it enjoyed from this time an independence perfectly resembling that of imperial cities, the right of assisting in the diets alone excepted. This last privilege was not obtained until the year 1768. Pfeffel, tome i. p. 346.

[37] Louis V., who began his reign in the year 1313, was the last emperor attacked by a papal excommunication; but though he yielded, the nation was resolute in opposition to the pretensions of the papacy.

The great resource of the papacy in this period was the military fanaticism of the crusades. Frederic II. had bound himself[39], when he received the imperial crown, to engage in one of these expeditions, as the most effectual means of conciliating the favour of the pontiff. This obligation, in the sixteenth year from his advancement to the throne of Germany, he was at length, by the repeated anathemas of the Roman see, compelled to discharge. But his reluctant and tardy compliance did not save him from the vengeance of the pontiff, who pursued him with censures to the east, and invaded his Italian territory with an army, alleging that he had departed without having been relieved from excommunication. Successful in his enterprise[40], notwithstanding the opposition of that see, in the cause of which he had embarked, he returned to Italy, and effected a reconciliation with the pontiff, at that time distressed by the refractory spirit of the Romans. Soon however did this constrained reconciliation give place to the hostility, which was the natural result of the relative situation of the papacy and the empire.

The cities of Lombardy[41], probably instigated by the pope, revolted against the emperor, who immediately marched into Italy, and might in a single campaign have extricated himself from all his embarrassments by the submission of his enemies, if a spirit of vengeance had not impelled him to require, that the people of Milan and Brescia should surrender themselves to his discretion, and thus to arm them with all the energies of despair. The pontiff then, taking part openly with the enemies of Frederic, launched against him a new anathema under various pretences, and, declaring the throne of the empire vacant, exhorted the German princes to proceed to another election. But the pontiff was not on this, as on the former occasion, supported by a formidable rebellion of the Saxons, glad to shelter their disaffection under the denunciations of the church, the power of that great province having been seasonably reduced by the grandfather of the reigning emperor. The princes therefore replied to the pontiff[42], that they saw nothing blamable in the conduct of Frederic, and that, though he possessed the right of crowning, he did not possess that of deposing him. The pontiff soon afterwards repeated the sentence, but it had no other effect than to excite the ecclesiastical electors to a revolt[43], in which they set up a rival emperor. Disappointed by the nobles of Germany, the pontiff determined to have recourse to a council, as his last expedient. This scheme however was frustrated by the vigilance of the emperor, who caused a number of cardinals and foreign prelates to be intercepted[44], as they were proceeding to Italy in a Genoese squadron; and the pope, Gregory IX., overwhelmed with the calamity, sunk into the tomb. The succeeding pope, Innocent IV., maintained the contest with resolution, but found it necessary to secure his safety by retiring to Lyons[45]. which, since the decay of the Burgundian kingdom, was subject only to its archbishop. From his retreat the pontiff issued new denunciations against the emperor; and though that prince at length offered to resign the empire to his son[46], and to pass the remainder of his life in warring against the infidels, he could not obtain so much indulgence. Frederic however[47], when this accommodation had been refused, gained so considerable successes over his adversaries in Italy, that he had almost completed their reduction; and the pontiff, thinking himself no longer safe in Lyons, was meditating to retreat to Bourdeaux for the protection of the king of England, when the sudden death of the emperor put an end to the enterprises of that prince, and to the danger of his antagonist.

---

[38] Innocent III., Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV. Between Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. was interposed Celestin IV., who died shortly after his election.

[39] Schmidt, tome iii. p. 502.

[40] He gained possession of Jerusalem with some other places, and, the clergy refusing to assist, he placed the crown on his own head. Before he began his expedition, he had assumed the title of king of Jerusalem, in right of his wife, who had inherited the pretension as daughter of John de Brienne, to whom the titular sovereignty had devolved.—Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 344—348.

[41] Ibid., p. 357.

---

[42] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 357. [43] Ibid., p. 361, &c. [44] Ibid., p. 358. [45] Ibid., p. 359. He had previously solicited the kings of France and Aragon in vain to grant him an asylum. [46] Ibid., p. 363. [47] Ibid., p. 364.

A reign thus occupied by foreign expeditions, and thus embarrassed by the denunciations of the Roman see, afforded an interval especially favourable to the formation of those commercial confederations, for which a field of industry was just then opened by the removal of the dominion of Denmark from the shore of the Baltic. How necessary such engagements and embarrassments were, is not a matter of mere speculation. Before Frederic commenced his foreign enterprises[48], the imperial cities of the province of the Rhine had formed an association for the defence of their liberty and property against the violences of the nobles; but the archbishop of Mentz, with whose projects of aggrandisement this association interfered, caused it to be suppressed as not consistent with the repose of Germany, and with the respect due to the emperor, and by a subsequent law Frederic himself prohibited all associations of the towns subject to the nobles[49], and annulled the elections of all municipal magistrates, to which the territorial princes should not have consented. But, notwithstanding this disposition to resist the efforts, by which the cities of Germany were endeavouring to establish their independence, so favourable to these efforts were the engagements and the difficulties of this prince, that within sixteen years from the publication of the ordinance of Frederic was begun an association of the cities of this very part of Germany.

The hanseatic league was earlier in its commencement. This great confederacy, which was also named the Teutonic hanse[50], was a commercial company composed of eighty of the most flourishing towns. Though formed by almost insensible gradations, it was within a few years completely established, and at the expiration of thirty was in the possession of an immense commerce. In the year 1241 the city of Lubeck, having but just then secured its liberty, associated with some neighbouring towns for their mutual protection against a band of pirates, which infested the coast of the Baltic; and the success of this first alliance attracted by degrees all the commercial cities between the Rhine and the Vistula. The trade of the league was managed at four great staples, London, Bergen, Novgorod, and Bruges. The direction was intrusted to four principal towns of the league, Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic, each superintending a certain number of towns adjacent to itself; but Lubeck was allowed to exercise a general control over the whole association, to preside over all its deliberations, and to direct the execution of all its measures. Thus constituted, the hanseatic league, during almost three centuries, maintained a degree of prosperity then unexampled, and by its naval armaments commanded the western and northern seas, and even disposed of the crowns of Sweden and Denmark. The discovery of the Indies at length gave a shock to this power, as it altered the commercial system of Europe; the augmentation of the power of the great nobles broke the connexion of the cities depending on them with those depending on the emperor; and the jealousy of Charles V., who wished to concentrate in the Low Countries the commerce of the world, completed towards the middle of the sixteenth century the destruction of the league. Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburgh however preserved the name of hanseatic cities, and under this respected name continued to enjoy a portion of the privileges, which it had anciently conferred.

---

[48] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 347.

[49] Ibid., pp. 351, 352.

[50] Ibid., p. 374.

Six years after the commencement of the hanseatic league was begun that other association[51], which was denominated the league of the Rhine, being composed of the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, of several princes, and of more than sixty cities situated on both banks of that river, all being united for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and particularly for the protection of trade against the exactions of the nobles. Amidst the anarchy, which prevailed in Germany, when the Roman see had pronounced the deposition of Frederic II., the nobles of the province of the Rhine and of Suabia, no longer restrained by any controlling authority, were particularly distinguished by their licentious violences. At length in the year 1247 the three archbishops combined with the princes most exposed to their ravages, and with the cities from Zurich to Cologne, to resist the disturbers of the public peace, and to abolish the numerous tolls, which had been recently established. Cologne[52], Mentz, Worms, and Strasburgh were appointed to be the places, in which deliberations should be held four times in each year concerning the common interests.

---

[51] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 382.

Among the occurrences, which favoured the commercial prosperity of Germany, must be mentioned the discovery of the mines of the Hartz, which happened in the reign of the first of the Othos[53], or about three centuries before the commencement of the hanseatic league. This discovery constituted the epoch of the opulence of Saxony[54], which had been the poorest country in Germany; and so great an improvement had been wrought there in the reigns of that prince and of his two next successors, that Henry II. described the country as a paradise flourishing in security and abundance. In relation to this source of prosperity we discover another influence of the reduction of that great principality, which has been already shown to have generated the division of the Guelf and Ghibelin parties, and to have provided a field for the Danish dominion of the shore of the Baltic. When the increased circulation of money, caused by the discovery of these mines, had awakened the industry of the Saxons, and the towns of this part of Germany had risen to some degree of importance, it became expedient that they should be freed from the restraint, which had been imposed by the authority of a prince so powerful as the Saxon duke, and left at liberty to form arrangements, as independent communities, for the protection and improvement of their commerce.

---

[52] Cologne thus appears to have been a principal member of each of these leagues, and may have formed a communication between them.

[53] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 132.

[54] Schmidt, tome ii. pp. 385, 386. Mr. Humboldt has exposed the error of supposing, that to work mines of the precious metals must be prejudicial to industry.—Political Essay on New Spain, book iv. ch. 9. If, indeed, even money may be considered only as a species of commodities, no good reason can be assigned, why the possession of the precious metals should be more detrimental to industry, than that of any other commodity, which men are desirous of acquiring.

It only remains to remark of this memorable reign, that Frederic II., amidst all his difficulties[55], was a scholar, and a patron of literature; and that the two universities of Naples and Vienna[56] have been ascribed to him as their founder. This part of his character was specially important to Germany. The southern kingdom of this prince, which had been occupied both by the Greeks and by the Saracens, had received an early impulse of intellectual improvement; the advancement of the heir of the Sicilian throne to the government of Germany, formed a communication for the transmission of the literary refinement of Sicily into that country; and thus a love of letters must have been in some degree introduced into a region, which, not having enjoyed the advantage of being comprehended within the ancient empire of the Romans, had not inherited any portion of the civilisation of antiquity.

With Frederic II.[57], who died in the year 1250, the prosperous days of the empire were terminated. The troubles, which followed his death, and the weakness of his successors, entirely obscured its splendour. The Italians accordingly shook off the yoke of Germany; the states of the kingdom of Arles, or Burgundy, assumed nearly a perfect independence; and the princes of Germany allowed to their sovereign only the glory of being the first among equals. The immediate successor of Frederic II. was his son Conrad IV., who passed a brief reign of four years in an uninterrupted struggle with a rival, supported by the Roman see. At his death, which happened in the year 1254, the kingdom of the two Sicilies was separated from Germany, his rival, William count of Holland, being then established on the throne of Germany, while his son

---

[55] Pfeffel says, that there are many works, which he composed in Latin, and that in the royal library of Paris there is a collection of German poems written by him. He enriched our literature, adds the historian, with many works of Aristotle, and of some Arabian philosophers and physicians, which he caused to be translated into Latin.—Abrégé Chron. tome i. p. 365. In Sicily he founded the first literary establishments; and an ode composed by him, which is still extant, exhibits the modern language of Italy in its birth.—Hist. Litt. d'Italie, par Ginguené, tome i. pp. 345, 346.

[56] The university of Naples was founded in the year 1224.—Giannone, lib. xvi. cap. 3; that of Vienna in the year 1236.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 355.

[57] Ibid. p 365.

Conradin succeeded to that of the two Sicilies. William occupied the German throne only two years, and his brief reign was followed by an interregnum of one year, at the expiration of which the imperial dignity was literally sold by the electors to Richard[58], brother of Henry III. of England. This emperor reigned fourteen years; but his frequent journeys to England, and the little authority possessed by a foreign prince, who had procured the imperial dignity by purchase, abandoned Germany to a degree of disorder most prejudicial to the sovereign power. The death of Richard was succeeded by an interregnum of two years, which completed the relaxation of the government. It has been accordingly remarked by Pfeffel[59], that the twenty-three years, which followed the death of Frederic II., constitute the true period of the establishment of the territorial sovereignty of the states of Germany, by which the feudal government was transformed into a loose assemblage of states, the reciprocal rights of which, however, remained to be fully determined at the treaty of Westphalia, after four centuries of uncertainty and contention. In its actual form[60] each district was obliged to watch for itself, that its neighbours might not become too powerful, so that Germany appeared to be divided into several little systems, and no longer to form one great empire; and while some chieftains contended for superiority even with the sword, others attached themselves alternately to different parties, as might best promote their interests, or secure their safety.

---

[58] Richard gave to the archbishop of Cologne 12,000 marcs of Cologne, to the archbishop of Mayence 8000, and to Louis count palatine of the Rhine and duke of Bavaria, for his two voices, 18,000 pounds sterling. To each of the other electors 8000 marcs of Cologne were offered, but they refused to accept less than the archbishop of Cologne. Richard was enriched by the tin-mines of Cornwall, then the only known mines of that metal. The competitor in the purchase was Alphonso king of Castile.—Schmidt, tome iii. pp. 577—580.

[59] Abrégé Chron. tome i. pp. 394—398. The immediate members of the Germanic body consisted of four classes; the electoral college, the college of princes, the free and imperial cities, and the nobles holding immediately of the crown. The college of electors, formed in the reign of Frederic I., was then composed of three archbishops and four secular princes. The college of princes was formed in the reigns of the two Frederics. Its foundations were laid by the dismemberment of the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria; the number of princes was then greatly augmented by the custom of dividing estates among the children of a family; many rich proprietors also submitted to hold their lands as fiefs, that they might acquire the character of princes of the empire; and, lastly, the destruction of the duchy of Suabia, the very name of which had perished with the unhappy Cónradin, brought a number of counts into the situation of princes, while it filled the diet with prelates, doubled the number of imperial cities, and gave being to the immense body of the immediate nobility of Suabia. The imperial cities, under the feeble successors of Frederic II., attained to a degree of power, which rendered them formidable to the surrounding princes. The body of immediate nobility, first formed by the extinction of the duchy of Suabia, with which that of Franconia had been united, was augmented by the officers of the crown, who in the general anarchy assumed similar privileges. This body the emperors learned to consider as their support in the government.—Ibid., pp. 389—409.

In the interregnum, which followed the death of Richard, the constitution of Germany had reached the crisis of its existence, and a longer continuance of such distraction must have effected an entire dissolution of the government[61]. It had therefore become necessary that some portion of vigour should be exercised by the sovereign. The electoral princes themselves had become sensible of the importance of restoring some degree of consistency to the constitution of their country[62], but were averse from the elevation of any prince, who should be sufficiently powerful to reduce them to submission. In this uncertainty of their minds, while they wavered between the desire of restoring the internal order and external respectability of Germany, and the fear of subjecting themselves to a master, the empire might, says Pfeffel, have been for ever deprived of a chief, if some contingent circumstances had not presented a noble, whose talents authorised them to hope every thing from his conduct, and whose fortune did not warrant any apprehension from his power.

Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, a castle in Swisserland[63], and possessor of various little territories and offices in the adjacent country[64], was endued with all the virtues and all the talents, which such an occasion demanded, and was a noble of too little power to excite the apprehension of the electors. Like the other German nobles of that period[65], he devoted himself to the constant practice of war; but the wars, which he waged, were the enterprises of a friend of order, not the ravages of a plundering chieftain. The singularity of this conduct drew upon him a very general attention; the citizens of the neighbouring republics gave to him their entire confidence[66]; and he began to be considered as the protector of liberty against the violences of the barons. He was far, however, from thinking of the imperial dignity, when he was raised to it in the year 1273, by the unanimous consent of the electors. For this advancement indeed he was primarily indebted to a service[67], which he had formerly rendered to the archbishop of Mentz, by escorting him through Swisserland in his progress to Rome, and in his return; and his election was facilitated by the contingency of having six unmarried daughters, which presented to the electors the prospect of connecting their families by matrimonial alliances with that of the new sovereign.

---

[60] Hist. des Allemands, tome iv. p. 282. [61] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 436. [62] Ibid., p. 420. [63] The county of Hapsburg, to which Rodolph succeeded in conjunction with his brothers, comprehended only a part of the district now called the Argau.—Coxe's Hist. of the House of Austria, vol. i. p. 8. Lond. 1807. [64] He inherited the landgraviate of Upper Alsace, the burgraviate of Rheinfelden, some scattered demesnes in Suabia and Brisgau, and the advocacies or prefectures of a few of the neighbouring towns and districts.—Ibid.

The difficulties of his situation induced Rodolph to make large concessions to the Roman pontiff[68], the state of Germany requiring his utmost attention, and the Italian pretensions of the empire having become of little value. His attention was indeed for a time diverted from the re-establishment of the public order in Germany by a war, in which he was involved with the electoral kingdom of Bohemia[69]. The king of Bohemia, who was his disappointed rival in the election for the empire, was one of the most powerful princes in Europe, his dominions extending from the confines of Bavaria to Raab in Hungary, and from the Adriatic to the Baltic[70]. By hereditary right he had succeeded to Bohemia and Moravia[71]; and to this original territory he had continually made new additions by his crusades against the Prussians, by his contests with the kings of Hungary, and by the recent acquisition of Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola. The struggle was terminated by the death of the king[72], in consequence of which the duchies of Austria, Styria, and Carniola were conferred jointly on two sons of the emperor, Albert and Rodolph; and thus the family of a count of Swisserland became the stem of that family of Austrian sovereigns, which afterwards enjoyed a pre-eminence among the sovereigns of Europe.

---

[65] Coxe's Hist. of the House of Austria, vol. i. pp. 9-13. [66] Among these were the people of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, who afterwards began the confederacy of Swisserland.—Ibid., p. 14. His grandfather, Rodolph, had held the prefectures of these three cantons, but had been driven to a resignation by the discontent of the people, who had acquired the favour of the emperor by their services.—Ibid., pp. 5, 6. [67] Ibid., p. 23. [68] Instead of simply naming the exarchate and the pentapolis, as in his own capitulations and in those of his predecessors, he declared expressly, that the city of Ravenna, and the provinces of Omilia, Bobio, Cesena, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Faenza, Imola, Bologna, Ferrara, Comachio, Adria, Rimini, Urbino, Montefeltro, with the territory of Bagno, and all their dependencies, should belong entirely to the Roman see, in regard as well to their temporalities as to their spiritualities. From this time many of these cities, among which was Bologna, then powerful, acknowledged the sovereignty of that see; some others for a long time resisted its pretension.—Schmidt, tome iv. p. 329. He also renounced all right of jurisdiction in the city of Rome.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 424.

When Rodolph was at last permitted to direct his undivided attention to the restoration of internal tranquillity, he exerted the utmost vigour for the attainment of this important object. Traversing the several provinces of Germany with an activity not to be expected at his advanced age, he bound the nobles by oath to the observance of peace[73], establishing judges or justices of peace to enforce this obligation; he demolished a considerable number of castles[74], which had served as retreats for the banditti, who infested the country; and at one time even caused twenty-nine nobles, who had been guilty of such practices, to be punished with death. How necessary these exertions were is sufficiently apparent from the instance of a count of Wurtemburg[76], of whom it was proverbially said, with a blasphemous contradiction, that he was the friend of

---

[69] The duchy of Bohemia had been constituted a kingdom in the year 1200, when Philip, who, in the preceding year, had been elected emperor, was desirous of securing the support of that state.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 324.

[70] Coxe, vol. i. p. 37.

[71] Ibid., p. 33.

[72] Ibid., pp. 48-51.

[73] Schmidt, tome iv. p. 333.

[74] Sixty-six in Thuringia, and more than seventy in Suabia and Franconia.—Pfeffel, tome i. pp. 434, 435.

[76] Schmidt, tome iv. p. 335.

God and the enemy of all the world. So admirably fitted indeed was Rodolph to this crisis of disorder, that a prince of this period denominated him an animated law[77]; and the credit of his probity was so unimpeachably established, that long after his time it was customary to say of any man, who had violated his engagement, he has not the probity of Rodolph.

Besides this general influence of the advancement of Rodolph, essential to the very existence of the government of Germany, two special consequences followed it, one of which was the independence of the Swiss confederacy, the other the connexion of the Austrian provinces with the crown of the empire. Of these the former resulted from the local pretensions of the family, the other from the vigorous government of Rodolph himself. Both consequences were of considerable importance, as the one gave being to a distinct member of the European system, and the other provided for the imperial dignity that external support, which had been rendered necessary by the failure of its internal resources[78].

Rodolph had anxiously laboured to secure the succession of his sole remaining son Albert, by causing him to be elected king of the Romans[79]; but the electors, probably disliking the imperious ambition of his character, dreading the power, which he derived from the possession of the Austrian provinces, and averse from every approach towards hereditary succession, resisted the proposal, and after the death of Rodolph excluded Albert from the throne. The archbishop of Mentz contrived means to procure the election of his cousin-german Adolphus, count of Nassau, whose character was unexceptionable, and whose power was too inconsiderable to excite any apprehension. So scanty were the resources of this prince, that he found it difficult to defray the expenses of the election.

The advancement of Adolphus, who held the government seven years, constituted an apparent interruption of the two special consequences of that of Rodolph, as it suspended the succession of his son: but it was really assistant to both, as it afforded to the Swiss cantons a convenient opportunity of preparation, and facilitated the subsequent advancement of Albert, which Rodolph had failed to accomplish.

---

[77] Schmidt, tome iv. pp. 346, 347.

[78] The revenue of the German sovereign, which, in the reign of Frederic I., had exceeded six millions of crowns, did not, in the reign of Rodolph, exceed two millions, though the Italian contributions were then included.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 439.

[79] Coxe, vol. i. p. 63. Pfeffel, tome i. p. 440.

The reign of Adolphus was brought to an abrupt termination by the disappointment of the archbishop, to whom he was indebted for his elevation. That prelate had flattered himself with the ambitious hope of enjoying the direction of his government[80], and had even bound his cousin by a variety of stipulations, framed in imitation of the capitulations, which had been required by the Roman pontiffs; but, having been undeceived by the independent vigour of the emperor, he determined to effect the ruin of the prince, whose advancement he had himself procured. The intrigues and the money of Albert assisted the cabals of the archbishop. Some accusations were accordingly framed against the emperor, the only remarkable one of which was an allegation of the indignity of receiving a subsidy from England, then a novelty in the German government[81]. A sentence of deposition was speedily pronounced; but the greater part of the princes[82], and all the cities, adhered faithfully to Adolphus. This prince, however, fell soon afterwards in an engagement fought with the followers of Albert, and left the throne empty for his rival.

What the authority and influence of Rodolph had been unable to accomplish, was thus effected by a combination of the resentment of a powerful prelate with a fortunate contingency; and Albert, disliked and dreaded as he was, acquired, after a delay of six years, the possession of the imperial dignity. The reign of this prince was a series of various agitations. In the beginning of his government he was embarrassed by the opposition of the Roman pontiff[83], who dreaded his resentment for having opposed his election[84], and was apprehensive of his connexion with the king of France; he was then involved in a contest with the electors of Germany, being irritated by their rejection of plans, which he had formed for the advancement of his son; he was afterwards occupied in an attempt to secure for this son the kingdom of Bohemia, which was frustrated by the death of the young prince; and he was finally engaged in an unsuccessful effort to recover some lands and castles, acquired to the crown by his predecessor, which, in the confusion occasioned by the death of that emperor, had been resumed by their former possessors.

---

[80] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 446. Schmidt, tome iv. p. 351, &c.

[81] This subsidy, according to Pfeffel, tome i. p. 445, was of 100,000 marcs; according to Schmidt, tome iv. p. 359, of the same number of pounds sterling. It was paid by Edward I. of England, on occasion of a war with France. [82] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 448. [83] Ibid. pp. 452—461.

[84] Schmidt has conjectured, that the pontiff must have been dis-

The concluding project of this reign of busy disappointment gave birth to the independence of Swisserland. Having conceived a design of forming for one of his sons a principality[85], which should be composed of Alsace, of the ancient demesne of the crown in Suabia, and of the hereditary territory of his family in Swisserland, he proposed to induce the inhabitants of the little district of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, to suffer themselves to be included in the arrangement. Disappointed by the steady resistance of these people, who, under the protection of the empire, enjoyed almost entire independence, he adopted the expedient of urging them to a revolt, which might justify the use of violent measures. He was indeed successful in driving them to a revolt, the oppressions of his bailiffs being insupportable to men accustomed to freedom; but, when he was going to avail himself of the opportunity, which he had thus created, he perished by the hand of an assassin, whom he had provoked by a domestic wrong.

So early as in the year 1291[86], or seven years before the commencement of the reign of Albert, the people of these three mountain-cantons had entered into a solemn confederacy for their common protection against oppression, having been incited to this measure by their apprehension of the haughty and ambitious temper of Albert, whose father, the emperor Rodolph, had just then died. The young prince had even at that time sufficiently displayed his obnoxious

---

pleased with the deposition of Adolphus, as an infringement of his own authority, in removing, without his participation, the temporal chief of Christendom.—Hist. des Allemands, tome iv. p. 371.

[85] Pfeffel, tome i. p. 460.

[86] Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy, vol. i. pp. 134—136, 139. London, 1800.

qualities, having during nine years administered the government of his own particular territory, and having long borne a considerable part in all the transactions of his father's reign. The death of the father, who had been reverenced by his Swiss subjects, was accordingly to them the signal of a general alarm for their liberties. As Albert did not succeed his father in the imperial dignity, the cities of Swisserland availed themselves of the opportunity, afforded in the short reign of his successful competitor, to obtain not only a confirmation of their former privileges, but also various additional and more considerable franchises. When, therefore, Albert was at length placed upon the throne, they had become more established in the possession of their liberties, and more prepared to struggle with their sovereign for a complete independence. The new emperor, among his numerous enterprises of ambition, gave to these people the provocation, which was necessary for rousing them to the decisive effort, and in the year 1308 was begun a confederacy, which subsisted in independence to the year 1798, or almost five centuries.

The three reigns of Rodolph, Adolphus, and Albert, had all, though in different ways, been conducive to this important revolution. The advancement of the first of these princes had brought to the throne of the empire a family possessing local pretensions among the cantons of Swisserland; that of the second had given an opportunity of preparing for the struggle, of which the Swiss had been forewarned by the temper and conduct of the last; and that of this prince, who was unprincipled and daring, provoked by insufferable oppression those simple men[87], who would have been well contented to continue in the condition of their fathers.

The establishment of an Austrian dynasty was a much more remote consequence of the exaltation of Rodolph, for that dynasty was begun by Albert II., who was elected in the year 1438, or one hundred and sixty-five years after that event[88].

---

[87] We are partial, said they, to the condition of our forefathers, and only desire the confirmation of our privileges.—Coxe's History of the House of Austria, vol. i. p. 92. [88] Germany, at the close of the reign of Frederic II., was bounded on the north by the Eyder

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the history of the Spanish peninsula, from the beginning of the kingdom of the Goths, in the year 472, to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Spain conquered by Euric and kingdom of the Goths begun in the year 472—The Suevians united to the Goths, 584—Arianism renounced by the Goths, 587—The Gothic kingdom begins to decay, 704—overpowered by the Arabs, 711—Kingdom of Asturias formed by Pelayio, 718—Caliphate of Spain begun, 756—Kingdom of Navarre begun, 827—Kingdom of Asturias and Leon begun, 914—Old Castile added to it, 939—The Spanish caliphate ended, 1031—Kingdom of Aragon separated from Navarre, 1035—a province of New Castile begun, and Toledo taken from the Arabs, 1085—Almoravides brought from Africa, 1086—Catalonia acquired by Aragon, 1153—Kingdom of Portugal separated from Castile, 1139—Almoravides expelled, 1144—Almohades enter Spain, 1145—The Moors overthrown at Tolosa, 1212—Leon united to Castile, 1230—Balearic islands conquered by the king of Aragon, 1232—Kingdom of Granada begun, 1238——Valentia reduced in the same year by the king of Aragon—Sicily acquired by the family of Aragon, 1282.

The countries hitherto considered, France, Italy, and Germany, were from the commencement of the modern history of Europe directly concerned in forming those early arrangements, out of which its political system was at length combined. The Spanish peninsula, on the other hand, lay beyond these arrangements, and within the period of time at present under consideration was connected with them only by an external agency, as it conveyed to them, first the hostility, and afterwards the refinement of the Arabian conquerors of the east. The internal agitations of the peninsula were, however, preparatory to the combinations of a subsequent period, by giving existence to the modern monarchies of Spain and Portugal, which have since exercised important functions in the general system.

When the rude barbarians of Germany had overthrown the empire of the west, and formed new sovereignties out

---

and the sea; on the west by the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Saone, the Rhone, and the Alps; on the south by the Alps and the Muer; and on the east by the Leita and the Vistula.—Pfeffel, tome i. p. 369.

of the fragments of its dominion, another race of barbarians, less capable of substantial and permanent dominion, but more ardent of imagination, and therefore well qualified to communicate the excitement of genius, rushed from the countries of the south to participate the spoil. This new power necessarily acted at first merely as a principle of external compression, consolidating by its hostility the imperfectly combined government constituted by the northern conquerors of the empire. After some time, however, the peculiar character of Arabian enthusiasm became predominant, and to the Arabs of Spain has Europe accordingly been deeply indebted for the early refinement of its manners, and for its restoration from intellectual barbarism, together with a scientific improvement exceeding the former attainments of Greece and Italy.

Spain, lying nearest to the territory of these new invaders, was rapidly subdued; and so firmly was their dominion established on the ruins of that of the northern conquerors of the peninsula[1], that almost eight centuries were exhausted, before the reaction of the vanquished power was able to effect its entire destruction. A contest, however, of so many centuries could not be a mere array of Arabs or Moors against Goths, for in so long a period policy, and even necessity, would occasionally introduce the intercourses of peace, and the treason of the disaffected on either side would often seek assistance and support among the hostile people. In these communications the Christians, stimulated by the example of their adversaries, learned to unite the ardour and the magnificence of southern imagination with the sober-minded steadiness of the north. Spain was accordingly the peculiar region of romantic chivalry, as it was there, too, that the popularity of its legendary extravagancies received a death-wound from the ridicule of Cervantes. Spain was also the country, which conveyed to the rest of Europe the treasures of Greek and oriental learning, collected by the Arabs as the richest trophies of their successes; and it appears likewise to have been the source of that poetry, which flowed from the southern provinces of France into Italy, where it was blended with the pure stream of classical antiquity, to compose with it the poetry of modern ages.

---

[1] From the ruin of the kingdom of the Goths in the year 711, to the reduction of Granada in the year 1492, an interval of 781 years.

The more prevailing hostility of the two nations had at the same time a powerful operation in forming the character of the Spanish Christians to that fiery zeal for religion, which has since converted them into strenuous champions of the papal dominion. It is[2] now, indeed, ascertained, that, in the free spirit of the earlier ages, the strongest aversion from the establishment of the odious tribunal of the Inquisition was manifested by the Spaniards, for the credit of introducing which their cities have since most unworthily contended; but we must attribute to the long crusade of almost eight centuries, that this tribunal could be established among them with an efficiency, exceeding that which it possessed in any other country of Europe, so as to be enabled to pervert to a base approbation of itself the generous enthusiasm of a high-spirited nation.

The Spanish peninsula[3] extends from west to east about six hundred miles, and more than five hundred from north to south; and is connected with the rest of Europe only where the Pyrenean mountains form a grand barrier of natural defence. Separated from Africa by a very narrow strait, it was commodiously situated for inviting the ambition of the Arabians and Moors, and permitting them to maintain their establishment through a long succession of ages: placed at the extremity of the Mediterranean, it enjoyed a position favourable to the commercial industry of its new possessors, while its mines of the precious metals[4] supplied the most attractive and convenient objects of exchange: and in the interior disposition of its surface it appears to have been distinctly formed for sheltering a resistance to be finally successful, and at the same time to become the field of a protracted warfare. Of the ranges of the Spanish mountains, which from their peaked form are characteristically named *sierras*, one in particular separates, from the other districts, the northern part of Galicia, with Asturias, Biscay, and Guipuscoa. By this range the progress of the Arabs was checked, when their light cavalry had scoured all the other provinces, and a remnant of the Gothic monarchy was protected from the violence of these invaders. From this strong-hold was the force poured forth, which by slow advances held on its progress even to the southern extremity of Spain. Four[5] other ranges, which had not been sufficiently difficult to restrain the inroad of the Arabs, served, however, to afford successive frontiers for maintaining the advances of their slowly returning enemies. Kingdom after kingdom was accordingly acquired by the Christians; the dominion of the Arabs and Moors was gradually contracted to the single territory of Granada; and the reduction of this last possession at length completed the overthrow of the infidels, and the triumph of their antagonists.

---

[2] M'Crie's Hist. of the Reformation in Spain, p. 107. Edinburgh and London, 1829.

[3] Pinkerton's Mod. Geogr., vol. i. p. 402.

[4] We are told by Mariana, (book i. ch. 4.) that a great fire, which happened among the Pyrenees, first disclosed these treasures, by melting the veins, which traversed the mountains; but the story appears to have no other foundation, than a fanciful etymology of the name of the Pyrenees. At a later period, two hundred and fifty-two years after the building of Rome, many earthquakes, which caused the earth to open in several places, are said to have again revealed the metallic riches of this country, and again to have invited the resort of foreign nations.—Ibid., ch. 6. Strabo informs us, that, in the time of the father of Hannibal, the Spaniards were so wealthy, that their mangers and water-troughs were made of silver.—Rerum. Geogr., lib. 3. In the time of Hannibal several mines were discovered, which

The peninsula had been secure from the aggressions of the northern nations, so long as its natural boundary of mountain was guarded by the native troops. It became exposed to their inroads[6], when these had been compelled to yield the defence of their country to the bands of the emperor Honorius; and accordingly, in the year 409, the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani, spread themselves over

---

were named his *wells*.—Mariana, book ii. ch. 3. When the Romans had effected the conquest of this country, their revenues were increased by the improved management of these its natural treasures. —Ibid. ch. 8. Mr. Pinkerton has remarked from Pliny, that the fairest of all silver was found in Spain, where the pits, begun by Hannibal, lasted to his time; and from Strabo, that the precious metals were there most abundant, and of the best quality. At present, he adds, almost the only mines of the precious metals in Spain are the silver mines of Guadalcanal in the Sierra Morena.—Mod. Geogr., vol. i. pp. 438, 439.

[5] Ibid., pp. 430, 431.

[6] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iii. pp. 265—267.

almost all its provinces. The Visigoths, in the year 414, first entered this country, but as friends of the empire, and enemies of the invaders, their king Adolphus[7] having concluded a treaty of alliance and friendship with the emperor, whose capital Alaric his predecessor had recently plundered. The success of Adolphus was limited to the surprise of Barcelona, where he perished by the hand of an assassin; but the enterprise was prosecuted by Wallia, who renewed the engagement of fighting in the cause of the empire, and fulfilled it by surrendering the extensive conquests of three years to the imperial authority. The reward of Wallia[8] was the possession of the second Aquitaine, a province of Gaul between the Garonne and the Loire, together with some neighbouring dioceses; and Toulouse became the capital of a new Gothic monarchy, which was thus founded in the year 419. This kingdom was, however, a member of the Roman empire, its princes acknowledging themselves to be bound by the duties of allegiance and military service, and soliciting the rank of master-generals of the imperial armies.

For the subsequent settlement of the Goths in Spain preparation appears to have been made by the previous invasions of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani, who had broken down the provincial government of the empire, which had been long and firmly established. This was the sole office, for which the extreme barbarism of these first conquerors was qualified, and the formation of a new government was transferred to a people, which had enjoyed some opportunity of improvement. The Vandals, who had prevailed over the other tribes, and incorporated with themselves the remnant of the Alani, were induced to remove into Africa ten years after the commencement of the kingdom of Aquitaine[9]. The Suevi, who remained in Spain, continued with diminished violence the distractions of the peninsula, and afterwards became a subordinate, but yet important member of the Gothic government of that country.

---

[7] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iii. p. 251.

[8] Ibid., pp. 270, 271.

[9] Boniface, the imperial governor of the African province, had been deceived by the intrigue of a rival into a belief, that his destruction was the object of an order recalling him to Rome, which that rival had himself secretly procured; and, driven into rebellion by this double artifice, he invited the Vandals from Spain to his support. —Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iii. p. 335.

The kingdom of the Visigoths erected in Gaul was on the other hand, during fifty-two years, a school of improvement to this other nation of Germans. Established in a province distinguished by its elegance and industry, and maintaining some, though an uncertain connexion, with the declining empire, the Visigoths of Aquitaine were most favourably situated for forming the habits, which would best fit them for erecting a new government on the foundation already, in a considerable degree, cleared for them by the Vandals and Suevi. Thirty-two years of that interval in particular were occupied by the reign of Theodoric[10], who, while he governed his kingdom with vigour, was careful to educate his son in the study of the Roman jurisprudence, and in an acquaintance with the poetry of Virgil.

The decay of the western empire afforded to the Visigoths an opportunity, which they did not neglect. The territory of Narbonne was[11], in the year 462, annexed to their original settlement, by which acquisition they were brought into contiguity with the Spanish peninsula; and in the year 471, Euric their king commenced the conquest of that country, which he completed within a year[12], the Suevi being reduced to hold their kingdom of Galicia under the sovereignty of the Gothic government. Nor were the efforts, or the successes of this prince, confined to the peninsula. In Gaul too he added so much to the Gothic territory[13], that, throughout the country extending from the Pyrenees to the Rhone and the Loire, the cities or dioceses of Berry and Auvergne alone rejected his authority, and these too were afterwards reduced. The reign of Euric was the epoch of the legislation, equally as of the formation of the Gothic government of Spain, for he caused the usages of the Visigoths to be compiled into a system of laws, and thus began that code, which the historian of the Roman empire has pronounced to be superior[14], in its civil jurisprudence, to the laws of the Burgundians, and even to those of the Lombards.

---

[10] Decline and Fall, vol. iii. p. 397—399. [11] Ibid., p. 481.

[12] Révol. de l'Espagne, tome i. pp. 110, 111. Paris, 1729.

[13] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iii. p. 481.

A monarchy embracing the whole of the Spanish peninsula, together with a large and valuable portion of Gaul, would, in the ordinary course of events, have been too powerful, to permit the establishment of the peculiar monarchy of the latter country. That it did not overbear and suppress the little kingdom of Clovis, which began its existence in the year 481, and made its first struggle for power in the year 486, has been judiciously ascribed by the same historian to causes merely personal and contingent[15]; the premature death of the Gothic king, the helpless infancy of his son Alaric, and the youthful spirit and ambition of the founder of the French monarchy. Such indeed was the influence of these personal circumstances, that the preponderance was even reversed in favour of the Franks. The Gallic territory of the Visigoths was accordingly, in the year 508, reduced to a narrow tract of seacoast, extending from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, and just serving to form an easy communication with the Gothic kingdom of Italy.

The long period of history proposed for consideration in this chapter, naturally divides itself into two principal parts, the former comprehending the duration of that Gothic sovereignty, which constituted the basis of the modern polity of the peninsula, the latter including the interval interposed between the commencement of the Mohammedan dominion and that of the fourteenth century. The former, which may be named the Gothic period, comprised two hundred and thirty-nine years; the latter was a series of five hundred and eighty-nine, though it wanted one hundred and ninety-two more, for completing the Mohammedan period of Spain.

A distinguished characteristic of modern Spain has been, in all its periods, a strong attachment to that form of Christianity, which was embraced by the church of Rome. The seventeen councils of Toledo attest the zeal and the orthodoxy of the earlier church of that country[16]; and the authority of the inquisition, maintained there even in this age of philosophy and independence, has marked it in recent times as the peculiar region of ecclesiastical influence. If we enquire into the origin of this spirit, we shall discover agencies beginning in the very first composition of the modern polity of the peninsula, and continually augmented in force to the period of its completion.

---

[14] Decline and Fall, &c. vol. iii. p. 610, note 125. [15] Ibid., p. 559.

[16] Of these the first preceded the commencement of the Gothic monarchy, the last was held in the year 694, or seventeen years before its termination.

The Roman province of Spain, which had been reduced a century and a half before the conquest of Gaul was accomplished[17], had enjoyed four centuries of tranquil prosperity, and could boast of five cities, Emerita or Merida, Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Taragona, reckoned among the most distinguished of the empire. Though therefore it was overrun and ravaged by the fierce barbarians of the north, a much superior population of the original inhabitants must have remained, to oppose to every innovation the strong power of ancient habits and opinions. These original inhabitants had of course been nurtured in the faith of Rome, which they had so thoroughly imbibed, that the Spanish bishops can claim the earliest example of the civil prosecution and punishment of heretics, in the sentence of death executed upon Priscillian and his followers towards the conclusion of the fourth century[18]. Such were the people, whom the Arian Goths compelled to a reluctant submission, numerous enough to be able to bear up against the opinions of their rulers, and bigoted enough to be persuaded that religion should be maintained by violence. On such a people the heresy of their Gothic masters could operate but as a strong excitement of the fervour of their religious profession. The presence of heretics would of itself increase the attachment of the orthodox to their sounder faith, but the heresy of conquerors and barbarians would act with yet more decisive influence.

While the government of the Goths served thus by its general character to animate the original population to a more strenuous perseverance in the principles of the faith of Rome, some support was furnished to the orthodoxy of that original population by a portion even of the barbarian conquerors of Spain. The Suevi, who held Galicia as a dependency on the monarchy of the Goths, maintained the trinitarian doctrine[19], probably because, like the Franks, they had received their knowledge of Christianity, after they had come into the province, in which they were established. The orthodoxy of this people so strongly reinforced the religious party of the original inhabitants, when they had at length, in the year 584, became incorporated with the Goths, that, at the expiration of only three years from that event, the government yielded to the popular sentiment, and publicly adopted the Roman profession of faith. The example of the monarch, Reccared, was followed by almost all his Gothic subjects, except in the Gallic province, where his influence was probably less powerful.

---

[17] Decline and Fall, &c., vol. iii. p. 265.

[18] Priscillian was of the sect of the Gnostics, who even in the apostolic age had corrupted Christianity by an admixture of the oriental philosophy, concerning the origin of evil, and the creation of the world. This heresy had been brought from Egypt into Spain in the beginning of the fourth century. Priscillian was put to death in the year 384.—Mosheim, cent. iv. part ii. ch. v.

By the triumph of its success, in proselyting a heretical government to the creed of Rome[20], the popular sentiment was naturally confirmed. What yet remained to be supplied for the formation of this part of the Spanish character, was amply furnished by such a discipline, as no other nation has ever experienced, a war of almost eight centuries with the infidel invaders of their country, which naturally became a religious, not less than a national contest. The Frankish monarchy had been politically connected with Rome by the original conversion of the king and his court from paganism to the tenets of the clergy established in the country, and such a connexion was necessary at the time for arranging the earlier combinations of the system of Europe. Spain, however, was long extraneous to the incipient system, and required rather such a predisposition of the popular character, as might, when confirmed in the long struggle with infidels, qualify its people to be, in a yet distant age, the strenuous defenders of the papal church.

---

[19] Révol. de l'Espagne, tome i. pp. 104, 162.

[20] The church of Spain, however, long maintained its independence in regard to the see of Rome, and even the liturgy of that see was adopted only near the close of the eleventh century. The original, or Gothic liturgy, of Spain, which was also named the Mozarabic, or Mixtarabic, probably because it continued to be used by those Christians of Spain, who lived under the dominion of the Arabs or Moors, was superseded by the Roman mass in Aragon for the first time in the year 1071, in Castile in the year 1086. This change, which was followed by the recognition of the papal authority, had been in Castile effected at the instigation of the queen, who was a French princess. It had previously been submitted to the decision of a judicial combat, and then to the ordeal of fire. Both having been favourable to the Mozarabic liturgy, the king pronounced that both might be used, and the new ritual gradually prevailed.—M'Crie's Hist. of the Reform. in Spain, pp. 20—25.

Of the whole period of two hundred and thirty-nine years, comprised in the duration of the Gothic monarchy, one hundred and fifteen, which preceded the renunciation of Arianism, appear to have been employed in creating that predisposition, and finally in extending the Gothic dominion over Galicia, when that primary function had been sufficiently discharged. Thirty-seven years more elapsed before the Gothic dominion was completed by the reduction of the imperialists, who during seventy-two years had maintained possession of some parts of the peninsula. The emperor Justinian had, in the year 552[21], availed himself of the dissensions of the Goths, to obtain the dominion of a portion of Spain; and, as the schism of the Greek and Roman churches had not then been begun, the subjects of the eastern empire supported the religious interest of Rome among those of the Gothic monarchy. This support having ceased to be useful, when the Goths had been proselyted to the faith of the original inhabitants, the independence of these imperialists also ceased in the year 624, when they were overpowered by the Gothic king, and one unbroken dominion was established throughout the whole peninsula. Eighty-seven years remained, of which the concluding fourteen formed a period of decay, preparatory to the overthrow of the government. The kingdom of the Goths may, therefore, be considered as having subsisted, in its integral and perfect state, during a period of seventy-three years, a short period for a kingdom, but sufficient for one, which was merely a first form of a future monarchy.

The concluding fourteen years of the Gothic monarchy comprehended the brief reigns of two princes, Vitiza and

[21] Révol. de l'Espagne, tome i. pp. 135, 136.

Roderic. The former of these has been described by historians as a monster of lust, irritating many of his subjects by his excesses, and corrupting yet more by his example. The evil soon became so general, and so grievous, that a conspiracy was formed against him. It was, however, discovered, and had the effect of adding cruelty to his debauchery, and even of inducing him to expose the safety of his country[22], by destroying the walls of almost all his cities, and the arms of his subjects. An open revolt was more successful and in the year 709 or 710 he was driven from that throne, which he had so much abused and dishonoured, or, according to some historians, was poisoned. Roderic, who was of another branch of the royal family, having been chosen to succeed him, the two sons of the degraded monarch retired into Africa, where they engaged in the treason, which speedily effected the ruin of the government. Nor was the new king warned by the punishment of his predecessor, but eagerly ran into similar excesses, and endeavoured to secure himself by similar violences. In the irregular government of the Goths so much depended on the personal qualities and conduct of the prince, that two such princes must have destroyed all its resources of authority. Among the numerous combinations of history, which loudly proclaim a providential superintendence, it happened that a powerful and enterprising enemy, which had advanced from the deserts of Arabia, was at this very time ready for the invasion and conquest of Spain, and almost at the very frontier of the country.

The empire, which in the preceding century had been founded in Arabia, had just at this time completed the reduction of Mauritania, while other armies were penetrating into Tatary and India. The Spanish peninsula was therefore separated from the victorious Arabs but by a narrow strait, and whatever difficulty even this might have opposed, was removed by the treachery, which the corruption and consequent dissension of the Spanish government, had engendered. Count Julian, brother-in-law of the deposed or murdered monarch, who was governor of that part of Africa which is nearest to Spain, offered an asylum in

---

[22] Mariana, book vi. ch. 8.

Ceuta to the sons of Vitiza, and invited the Arabs to assist them in an invasion of Spain. Historians have ascribed the conduct of the count, in part at least, to resentment for violence offered by the king to his daughter Cava; but the story is now regarded as a romantic fiction of a later age.

The rashness of Roderic gave a speedy success to the enterprise of the Arabs, by suffering the Spanish army to be brought to a decisive action near the place, in which Xeres is now situated. Before the conclusion of the following year, the whole country was over-run except the mountains of Asturias. Thus perished[23], says Mariana, the kingdom and nation of the Goths by a peculiar providence, that out of their ashes might rise a new and holy Spain, greater in strength and dominions, to be the bulwark of the Catholic religion. We may, indeed, well admit, that this great revolution had a special tendency to create in the minds of the Christians of Spain that extraordinary attachment to the ecclesiastical system of their country, which, while it has fatally repressed among them the spirit of enquiry and improvement, has rendered them, beyond other nations, the zealous adherents of the faith of Rome.

During forty-five years from the invasion, the Arabian establishment in Spain continued to be dependent on the eastern caliphate, the seat of which was then at Damascus; but in the year 756 it became the dominion of a distinct and independent caliphate, when Abderahman, who was of the family of the Ommiades, had fled thither from the ruin of his race, in the change of the succession to the dynasty of the Abbasides. The Spanish caliphate subsisted two hundred and seventy-five years, expiring in the year 1031, at the death of the last of the Ommiades. During twenty-four years preceding his death[24], the government had been harassed by a series of civil war and usurpation, which reduced it to extreme weakness, and proved that it was not longer capable of discharging its functions. Cordova, indeed, which had been its capital, continued during fifty-five years more to be the seat of a petty monarchy, until, in the year 1086, the Almoravides, a race of Moors, arrived from Africa, to possess themselves of the power, which the Arabs, in their multiplied dissensions, appeared to be unable to retain.

---

[23] Hist. of Spain, book vi. ch. 10.

[24] Hist. de la Domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal, par M. de Marlès, tome ii. p. 127. Paris, 1825.

In the deserts of the ancient Gætulia were two tribes[25], which claimed to have descended from a very ancient tribe of Yemen in Arabia, having been exiled from their original country by intestine dissensions. These happened, towards the middle of the eleventh century, to be visited by a stranger named Abdala, distinguished by superior information. This person, received with respectful admiration by the wanderers of the deserts, became their chief, and having conquered a neighbouring tribe, which he soon afterwards found devoted to his service in other enterprises, he gave to his followers the name of *Murabitins* or *Almoravides*, signifying *men of God*, devoted to his service. The impulse thus given to these wild tribes was maintained by successive leaders, and in the year 1072 the dominion of the Almoravides had been extended to the ocean and the Mediterranean. The Africans, in a first and second expedition, acted as the allies of the Arabs of Spain; in the third, which was undertaken in the year 1090, they proceeded to conquer for themselves; and in the year 1094, all the Arabian kingdoms of Andalusia, which, during about sixty years, had maintained an agitated existence, were overthrown. Revolt and civil war had given them independence; the invasion of strangers, aided by their incurable dissensions, reduced them to subjection.

As the Almoravides had issued from the deserts of Gætulia, so other tribes in process of time advanced from the deserts of Mount Atlas[26], and assumed in their turn the dominion of Mohammedan Spain. It is without a parallel in the history of nations, that this great revolution should have arisen from the proscription of a book, and the vanity of disappointed authorship; yet thus has the origin of the event been explained, and the anecdote may serve to illustrate the influence of learning and literary reputation on the minds of the Arabians and Moors. Muhamad, son of a man employed to light the lamps of an

---

[25] De Marlès, tome ii. pp. 227—283.

[26] Ibid., pp. 321—330.

African mosque, had attended, during many years, the schools of Cordova, and had then gone to Bagdad to prosecute his studies under a teacher of distinguished reputation. This teacher had published a treatise, concerning, according to the title, the resurrection of the sciences and the law, which had been condemned at Cordova, as containing propositions contrary to the doctrine of the Koran. Informed of this proceeding, on the casual visit of a stranger, the indignant writer prayed to God to avenge him of his unjust judges, and of the king, who had sanctioned their injustice; and, when all his disciples joined in the prayer, Muhamad said to him, pray also that I may be the instrument of vengeance. The philosopher amended his prayer according to the suggestion, and Muhamad returned to Africa, that he might make preparation for overturning the empire of the Almoravides.

Assuming the character of a reformer, Muhamad continued to teach, during four years, with only one constant disciple, but at length he succeeded in attaching to himself a multitude, with whom he five times defeated the Almoravides; this new host received the name of[27] Almohades, formed from the title *mehedi*, or doctor, which had been given to their leader. Abdelmumen, the successor of Muhamad, who had been so long his single disciple, soon compelled the sovereign of the Almoravides to recall his best troops from Spain to the defence of Morocco, his capital, and the seat of his government[28]. The Andalusians, relieved from the presence of these forces, prepared to break the chains by which they had been long retained in servitude; and it happened that about this time an enthusiastic disciple of the same doctrines, which had given being to the Almohades[29], appeared in Algarva. This man, who was named Aben Cosai, gained many proselytes, and engaged in enterprises of conquest; but, doubting his ability to establish himself in independence, solicited the alliance and support of the chief of the Almohades[30], who accordingly, in the year 1146, sent an army into

---

[27] To the prevalence of this sect is attributed the final extinction of the church of Africa in the year 1119. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tome v. p. 167. [28] De Marlès, tome ii. pp. 360, 361. [29] Ibid., p. 368. [30] Ibid., pp. 387—391.

Spain. The Spanish dynasty of this people is considered as having been begun in the year 1148, when the last general of the Almoravides had been slain in battle[31].

The Moorish dynasty of the Almoravides subsisted only fifty-four, that of the Almohades during the much longer period of ninety years, being suppressed only in the year 1238; nor was their power completely extinguished in Spain, and restricted to Africa, until the year 1270[32]. A great battle gained by the Christians at Tolosa, in the year 1212, gave a shock to the power of the Almohades, from which it never recovered. The Moorish prince died about fifteen months afterwards at Morocco, and left his throne to a boy aged but eleven years, who died of his own excesses after a short and incapable reign of ten years, leaving no heir of his government. The death of this prince was the signal of discord and revolt from one end of the empire to the other[33]; Mohammedan Spain more especially was in a condition much resembling that, in which it had been at the decline of the power of the Almoravides. In the year 1238 the dominion of the Arabians was restored in the establishment of a little kingdom of Granada, the last strong-hold of the Mohammedans, in which, however, they were able to maintain themselves during two hundred and fifty-four years, this kingdom having been reduced by the Christians only in the year 1492.

The Mohammedan dominion of Spain may be divided into five periods: the first, comprehending forty-five years, was employed in its establishment; the second, comprehending three hundred and thirty-eight, included the period of the caliphate reigning at Cordova, together with that of the succeeding monarchy; the third, consisting of fifty-four, was the period of the first Moorish dynasty, or that of the Almoravides; the fourth, containing ninety, was the period of the second dynasty of the Moors, or of the Almohades; and the concluding period of two hundred and fifty-four, was that of the re-establishment of the Arabs in the kingdom of Granada. From this statement it appears, that the Arabs possessed this dominion during much the longer portion of its existence, the two Moorish dynasties together occupying not quite a century and a half. These dynasties, indeed, seem to have operated as a maintaining power in the machine of the Mohammedan government of Spain, which would probably have otherwise perished by the exhaustion of its principles. The earlier took up the government, when that of Cordova had sunk in decay ; this was in its turn succeeded by the later, as in its ruder structure it soon required to be superseded by a new arrangement; and the later, though more effective in the principle of its formation, and accordingly of longer continuance, made way for the restoration of the Arabian dominion, to which its oppressive ascendency had given new energy. The later of the two Moorish dynasties had been described as more perfect in the principle of its formation, because it was founded on some distinctions of religion, which animated it with a new infusion of enthusiasm.

---

[31] De Marlés, tome ii. p. 402.
[32] Ibid., tome iii. p. 24.
[33] Ibid., pp. 3—16.

The grand period of Mohammedan refinement in Spain, was that of the Spanish caliphs, who laboured to render Cordova the rival of Bagdad, as they were themselves rivals of the caliphs of the east[34]; and of this period the most brilliant part was composed of the two reigns of the third Abderahman and his son Alhakem, begun in the year 912, and ended in the year 976, which was contemporary to the darkest ignorance of the Christian nations of Europe[35]. Possessing the greater, and the more valuable and populous part of Spain, and master of western Africa under the title of protector, Abderahman was one of the richest and most powerful princes of Europe. A munificent protector and encourager of learning, he brought from the east a distinguished scholar to educate his son; and the great men of his court, in imitation of their master, assembled the learned at their houses. The literary character of the reign of Alhakem corresponded to the care employed in his education[36], for at no other time was the love of learning more conspicuously displayed among the Arabians of Spain. Literature, no longer confined to the capital, was also cultivated with success at Seville, at Badajoz, and at Guadalaxara; men at this time devoted themselves with ardour

[34] De Marlés, tome i. p. 456. [35] Ibid., p. 460. [36] Ibid., p. 489.

to the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake, and not as the means of advancing themselves in life; learned men in various places, but especially at Cordova, united themselves in academies[37], that knowledge might be improved by the mutual communication of opinions; and the women, emulating the acquirements of the men, were found to be distinguished by their proficiency in literature, one of them even delivering a series of public lectures in Seville. So deeply, indeed, had the love of learning penetrated the character of this intelligent and ardent people, that in almost the last struggle of the kingdom of Cordova[38], a declaration of war, sent to the king of Castile, was accompanied by some verses, composed on the same subject.

A government thus favourable to intellectual refinement was necessarily too mild for a long continuance in a state of society so imperfectly combined, the interests of the Arabs and the Africans being perpetually opposed. The caliphate of Spain was accordingly embarrassed by domestic struggles, which ended in destroying the monarchy, and establishing a dynasty of Moorish sovereigns. This dynasty, employed in correcting the disorders of the state, had neither leisure nor inclination for the protection of learning[39], and prohibited the perusal of the romantic narratives of chivalry. The Almohades, by whom they were succeeded, were animated by a different spirit. The first of their princes not only encouraged the publication of such books, as his predecessors had prohibited, but favoured the learned and their studies through his whole empire, especially in Spain, amidst all the distraction of continual hostilities. Cordova was even then rendered illustrious by Averroes, Abenzoar, and Avicenna. In the little kingdom of Granada, where the Arabs regained their ascendency, learning and the arts recovered much of their former distinction. Of the improved state of the arts the remains of the famed Alhambra bear a sufficient attestation; and that the Arabs still retained their eminence in science was acknowledged by Alphonso, improperly named

---

[37] Almanzor, who began his administration of the government in the year 976, and died in the year 1001, is said to have incorporated a regular academy, assigning a fund for its expenses.—De Marlès, tome ii. p. 24. [38] Ibid., tome ii. p. 222, note. [39] Ibid., pp. 416, 417.

the wise, but who might have been entitled *the learned*[40], this prince having sought the assistance of the learned of Granada for the construction of his astronomical tables.

From the very commencement of the successes of the Arabs in Spain a power was prepared, which should maintain a long, and finally successful struggle, for the recovery of this great province of Christendom. When they advanced into the peninsula, multitudes of the inhabitants sought a refuge from the invaders in the mountains of Asturias, and of the adjacent districts. Into these the formidable cavalry of the Arabs was unable to make incursions; nor could they be very desirous of penetrating such fastnesses, while France offered to their ambition a much more inviting field of enterprise. Of the immediate occasion, which excited the efforts of the fugitives against the conquerors of their country, an account has been given similar to that of the introduction of the latter into Spain, which has been already rejected. Munuza, who, though a Christian, had attached himself to the Arabs, and had by them been intrusted with the government of a small town, is said to have become enamoured of the sister of Pelayo, or Pelagius[41], the grandson of Recesuinthus one of the Gothic kings[42], and to have offered her the same outrage, which the last of those kings is said to have offered to the daughter of count Julian. Whether this really happened, or, like the other narrative, is probably but a romantic embellishment of history, it is certain that Pelayo, in the year 718, began the revolution, which, after the lapse of seven hundred and seventy-four years, was completed in the reduction of Granada.

The enterprise is described by the historian as prompted solely by the heroic mind of this prince. In the valley now named Cangas, then Canica, says Mariana, he set up his standard, and beat a drum. Great was the dejection of the Christians, and so far were they from eagerly seconding the magnanimity of Pelayo, that they are represented as interrupting his harangue with their sighs; but they were at length roused to fortitude by the example of his heroism, and swore to maintain the common cause of freedom to the

[40] De Marlès, tome iii. p. 115.

[41] Mariana, book vi. ch. i.

[42] Révol. de l'Espagne, tome ii. p. 15.

last extremity. The conduct of the Asturians was proposed to the imitation of the fugitives scattered through Galicia and Biscay, and of the people of the neighbouring towns, which had been captured by the Arabs. Few however chose to engage themselves in an attempt so perilous, and so hopeless.

Pelayo, in a successful reign of nineteen years, established the foundation of the new kingdom. Favoured by the diversion of the Arabian arms to the invasion of France, his little principality was suffered to acquire the solidity and strength, which were necessary for its stability. It was also protected by the new-strung vigour of the French monarchy, which was just then braced for exertion by the energy of Charles Martel. In the year 732 the great and decisive battle of Tours was gained by that gallant leadeı, and the tide of Arabian hostility was rolled back to the peninsula of Spain.

Though Pelayo has the glory of having first raised against the Arabians the standard of resistance, his little kingdom was not the sole original of the independence of the Spanish Christians. As the French pressed upon the retiring Arabs, the provinces of the peninsula on the northern side of the Ebro became subject to them, and the empire of Charlemagne was, according to the French historians[43], extended to that river. When the empire of that prince, no longer supported by his powerful mind, had sunk into decay, the little kingdom of Navarre, embracing a territory on either side of the Pyrenees, was formed of one of its fragments, and gave to the Christians of Spain a new and distinct origin of national independence. Charlemagne died about the year 814, and about the year 827 the people of Navarre[44], perceiving that they were neglected by his son and successor Louis, deemed it necessary for their safety to choose a king, under whose government they might be protected from the Arabians. In this manner, more than a century after the beginning of the Asturian kingdom, was founded the other of the two governments, which have conveyed to more modern times the principles of the Gothic monarchy of Spain.

---

[43] M. de Marlès questions the credibility of the French account of a formal treaty, because M. Conde, from whose collection of Arabian history he had compiled his own narrative, found no mention of Charlemagne.—Hist., tome i. p. 291, note.

[44] Henault's Chron. Abridg. Schœpflini Comment. Hist. et Crit. de regno Navarræ, p. 269. Basileæ, 1741.

The kingdom of Navarre, formed afterwards in circumstances of less urgent danger, was organised with more consideration of the rights of freedom, than appears to have characterised the constitution of the kingdom of Asturias. In the very commencement of the government those fundamental regulations were established[45], which were afterwards distinguished by the name of *the liberties of Soprarve*, and the Aragonians, who derived their laws from Navarre, were celebrated for their political independence. It was the boast of the Aragonians, that among them laws had been ordained before kings were appointed; the responsibility of the sovereign was maintained by the creation of a magistrate, named the *justiza*, who judged between him and his subjects; and in the oath of allegiance, which subsisted to the reign of Philip II., they expressly told the sovereign[46], that they, who were as good as he, and more powerful, chose him to be their king, solely on the condition that he would preserve their privileges. It seems as if two distinct organs were provided for constituting the future monarchy of Spain, one to give it the consistency and vigour of a military and successful government, the other to animate it with the spirit of political independence. Various and powerful influences have rendered the united monarchy a despotic government, not even preserving the forms of ancient liberty; but the independent spirit of the old Aragonians may yet exist in the mass[47], and become in a future age the actuating principle of important combinations.

The kingdom founded by Pelayo, which was called the kingdom of Oviedo, from the name of that city in Asturias, began, in the year 914, to be named the kingdom of Leon[48], as it advanced into the open country, and the city of Leon became the residence of the court. The province of Old Castile was added to this growing territory in the year 939[49], and a province of New Castile was begun in the year 1085, when Toledo, the only barrier which kept the Christians beyond the Tagus, was reduced. So slightly, however, were these acquisitions connected with the other provinces, that Castile, at the end of thirty years from the former of these events, became an independent district, and then attached itself to Navarre; and, though at the end of nine years it was again attached to the kingdom of Leon, yet the union was not completed before the year 1230.

---

[45] Schœpflinus, p. 270.

[46] Nos que valemos tanto como vos, que podemos mas que vos, os hazemos nuestro rey, y sennor, con tal que nos guardeys nuestros fueros y libertades, y sino no.—Ibid.

[47] The memorable sieges of Saragossa and Gerona in Aragon, and the heroic resistance of Mina in Navarre, have lately afforded an abundant confirmation of this remark.

[48] Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. d'Espagne et de Portugal, tome i. p. 109. Paris, 1765.

The two kingdoms, which had arisen out of the ruins of the Gothic monarchy, constituted a little system of policy, the relations of which were rendered very complicated by the intermarriages of the royal families, and the practice of dividing a sovereignty among the young princes. The system at length disengaged itself from the confusion, which had attended the process of its combination, and the whole resolved itself into four distinct kingdoms, each of the two primary establishments having given being to another distinct and independent government. From Navarre was separated in the year 1035 the kingdom of Aragon[50], and Portugal in the year 1139 was, in the like manner, detached from that of Castile. This quadruple arrangement seems to have been accommodated, in its several members, to peculiar and important functions.

The function of the kingdom of Castile appears to have consisted in maintaining the main struggle with the Arabs and Moors, and in laying the foundation of a renewed Christian monarchy in Spain. Originating in the mountains of Asturias, it advanced slowly through the interior provinces of the peninsula, pressing upon the infidels in front, throwing off on the one side the little, though important, kingdom of Portugal, but receiving, on the other, the additional territory and population of the temporary kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre. The nature of its progress rendered it essentially a military, rather than a maritime government; but it acquired in its conquests a tract of sea coast, which afterwards directed its efforts to maritime discovery.

---

[49] Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. d'Espagne et de Portugal, tome i. pp. 118, &c., 194, 324.

[50] Ibid., pp. 167, 168.

Portugal, which, even to the present day, has divided the dominion of the peninsula, was originally a province of Castile, even before the latter had been incorporated with the kingdom of Leon. In the year 1094, Henry of Burgundy, who had gone into Spain in search of military glory[51], was invested by the king of Castile, whose daughter he had married, with the government of all the Spanish possessions in Lusitania[52], since his time distinguished by the name of Portugal. His son, Alphonso, succeeded him in the dignity of count of Portugal, and in the year 1139, exchanged it for the regal character[53], when his army, just going to engage with a formidable multitude of Moors, and animated by a story of a dream and a vision, which he had related to them, saluted him with the title of king. This then is the epoch of the Portuguese monarchy. Its original capital was Guimarens[54]; Coimbra, as the territory of the new kingdom was extended towards the south, became the seat of government, nor does Lisbon appear to have been constituted the metropolis before the year 1384, though it had been taken from the Moors in the year 1147.

The series of princes, who governed Portugal to the commencement of the fourteenth century, was, with a single exception composed of able and active monarchs, well qualified to prepare the foundation, and to raise the superstructure, of the new kingdom. That exception was Sancho II.[55], who, in the latter part of his reign, abandoned himself to the influence of favourites, and particularly to that of his queen. This interruption of the prosperity of the growing state, which, however, continued but six years, was the crisis of the establishment of the papal ascendency over the government of the country. The Roman see availed itself of the favourable opportunity presented by the misconduct of the sovereign, to transfer the government to Alphonso, his brother[56]; and, though this prince afterwards disregarded the promises, which he had made to the clergy[57], as the conditions of his advancement, yet, even he, at the close of his life, renounced his opposition to their pretensions, which were at length formally established in the year 1289 by a *concordat* and a papal bull[58]. The prince, in whose reign this final victory was gained by the church over the crown, was notwithstanding, in other respects, the glory of Portugal. Denis I., who ascended the throne in the year 1279, is described as possessing every royal virtue[59]. Just, patriotic, active, and attached to letters, he added to the glorious title of father of his country, that of the father of the muses of Portugal. He was well disposed to restrain the encroachment of the ecclesiastics; but he felt the power, by which his genius was controlled, and submitted, without a struggle, to its inevitable sway.

---

[51] Hist. de Portugal, par De la Clède, tome i. p. 157. Paris, 1735. Henry was descended from Hugh Capet by his father, and by the female side from the counts of Burgundy.—Ibid., p. 160.

[52] The country was anciently called Lusitania, then Suevia from the Suevi, and afterwards again Lusitania, when the Suevi had become subject to the Goths. The modern name was compounded of those of Porto and Cale, two towns on the contrary sides of the Douro.—Ibid., p. 171. The modern Portugal, however, contains a larger territory than the ancient Lusitania.—Ibid., p. 168.

[53] Ibid., pp. 178—180.

[54] Ibid., pp. 172—229, 356, 183.

[55] Ibid., p. 219.

The kingdom of Portugal was in this early period of its history a powerful auxiliary of Castile in its struggle with the Moors, its appropriate function being reserved for another and a distant age. Formed in a narrow country, which bordered the Atlantic, and reached to the vicinage of Africa, it was naturally disposed to try the hazards of maritime adventure, and conducted to the circumnavigation of the southern continent, and to the conquest of India. In that distant country it again encountered the votaries of the Koran, against whom it exercised the heroism, which had been disciplined in the long contests of the peninsula, while the chances of naval adventure procured for it the acquisition of a nearer and more permanent dominion in the western world.

---

[56] The pope, indeed, thought it proper to declare, that he did not pretend to take the kingdom from the king, or from his legitimate son; but merely to provide for its welfare during his life.—De la Clède, tome i. p. 225. [57] Ibid., pp. 234—243. [58] This constitution, which ordains the entire independence of the ecclesiastical authority, is sanctioned by a declaration that, in case of its infringement, the king, within a specified time after one admonition, should be subjected to an interdict, and that after a second he should be excommunicated, the interdict extended to the whole kingdom, and the people discharged from their allegiance.—Ibid., p. 243. [59] Ibid., pp. 259, &c.

Navarre, the other of the two original governments erected from the ruins of the Gothic monarchy, appears to have had a destination very remote from military or maritime enterprise. Situated on the southern side of the Pyrenees, the natural barrier of the peninsula, and yet connecting itself with France on the other, it formed an organ of communication between the two countries, which conveyed the intellectual refinement and gallantry of the Arabs of Spain, to excite a spirit of improvement in the southern provinces of the adjacent kingdom. The diffusion of these influences must have been much facilitated by the existence of a government belonging partly to each of the two great countries, on the common frontier of which it was established. Even the political disadvantage of the situation of Navarre must have cooperated to direct its people to the pursuits of genius and refinement. From the time when Aragon became a distinct kingdom, Navarre was shut in from every opportunity of attaining to political greatness, being wholly separated from the infidel invaders of the peninsula. It was not therefore led to take a principal share in the domestic crusade, which so much occupied the other Christian states of the peninsula, but was left in sufficient leisure for seeking its gratification in the cultivation of the learning and elegance, which were presented to their imitation by the common enemy.

This little state indeed ceased to maintain its independence even within the period of the history of Spain at present considered, for in the year 1234 it passed[60], in consequence of a marriage, into the family of the counts of Champagne, and again, in the year 1284, in consequence of another marriage, into the royal family of France. Still however it was distinct from the governments of Castile and Aragon, and probably could not have maintained that distinctness, except by the aid of a connexion thus powerful. It appears accordingly that before this connexion was formed with the royal family of France[61], Castile had been able to reduce Navarre to some kind of dependence, so that the latter state paid homage to the former; but that this dependence entirely ceased, when a protection so powerful had been obtained. If Navarre had been united with Castile, it must have been involved in the contentions of Spain, and thus have lost its appropriate character. Connected with the crown of France, and yet too distant to be much influenced by its political interests, it continued to be useful in maintaining the intellectual and social communication of the two countries.

---

[60] Henault's Chron. Abridgm., vol. i. pp. 190, 205.

Aragon, the progeny of Navarre, had for some time only a function similar to that of the parent state. Stretching along the skirts of the Pyrenees, Aragon, like Navarre, formed a communication between the two adjacent countries, and was even united in government with some of the southern districts of France[62]. In correspondence to this relation we perceive, that two of its princes have been admitted into the series of the troubadours[63]. In the progress of the state towards its maturity it acquired also another character, and became engaged in a very different function. The reduction of Catalonia was completed in the year 1153[64], and the kingdom, having thus been extended to the sea-coast, began to be a maritime state. The influence of this new character was manifested in the year 1229, when the conquest of the Balearic Islands was begun in the acquisition of Majorca[65]. Again in the year

---

[61] Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. d'Espagne et de Portugal, tome i. p. 410.

[62] In the year 1179, Alphonso II. of Aragon received the homage of the viscount of Nismes, and other lords, who were desirous of procuring his support against the count of Toulouse.—Ibid., p. 277. In the year 1258 a treaty was concluded between James I. of Aragon and Louis IX. of France, by which the former renounced all his rights in Provence, and in all places of Languedoc except Montpellier, which last was afterwards acquired by Philip VI. of France. Cerdaigne and Roussillon remained to Aragon.—Ibid., pp. 353, 354. These were in the year 1462 granted to Louis XI. of France as a mortgage, but in the year 1493, were restored to Aragon by Charles VIII. Roussillon was conquered in the year 1640 by Louis XIII. of France, and Cerdaigne was likewise acquired by France in the year 1707.—Henault.

[63] Hist. Littéraire des Troubadours. Paris, 1774.

[64] Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. d'Espagne et de Portugal, tome i. p. 253.

[65] Ibid., tome i. p. 322.

1238 the territory of Aragon was enlarged by the reduction of Valentia[66], and within forty-four years the augmented energy of its resources, and its increased connexion with the sea, were displayed in effecting the acquisition of Sicily[67]. Aragon may therefore be regarded as a little state which discharged indeed a function of communication similar to that of Navarre, but was chiefly, and more appropriately employed, in maintaining the political relations of the Mediterranean, by connecting itself first with the islands adjacent to the Spanish coast, and then with the more important island of Sicily. This last acquisition however, though it continued to belong to the reigning family of Aragon, was separated from its crown at the end of four years.

Thus did this interesting country first slowly unite itself into one great Gothic monarchy, such a general monarchy constituting the fittest preparation for the subsequent re-establishment of the Christian dominion of the peninsula; it was then subjected to the violent action of a successful invasion, which communicated the exciting influences of a nation of conquerors enriched with the spoils of civilisation, and of a protracted war of religion; and, in its restoration from the overwhelming force of this attack, resolved itself into four distinct governments, one of which at length became predominant, and the others proved to be political organs, appropriated to various functions. Of the three lesser governments, Portugal[68], being locally connected with the ocean, the grand scene of maritime adventure, attained to a temporary greatness, and has maintained a permanent distinctness; the others, having but temporary functions to discharge, were after a time absorbed into the kingdom of Castile, and composed with it the principal government of the peninsula.

---

[66] Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. d'Espagne et de Portugal, pp. 332, &c.

[67] Of this acquisition an account has been given in the tenth chapter.

[68] This kingdom extends about three hundred and sixty British miles in length, and about one hundred and twenty in breadth. In square miles it does not much exceed the fifth part of the territory of Spain, the former being estimated to contain about 27,280, the latter about 148,000. No natural boundary divides the two countries.—Pinkerton's Mod. Geography.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the history of England from the renunciation of the Romans, in the year 409, *to the Norman Conquest, in the year* 1066.

Renunciation of the Romans in the year 409—Arrival of the Saxons, 449—Heptarchy, or rather Octarchy, completed, 586—united by Egbert, king of Wessex, 827—Danish invasions begun, 832—Danish dynasty begun, 1017—ended, 1042—Norman Conquest, 1066.

In the arrangement and combination of a system of federative policy, such as has been established in Europe, two distinct operations appear to have been carried on, and to have been both necessary to the production of the result. One of these was to bring a number of states into certain federative relations, by which one portion of the number should be placed in opposition to the other, so as to generate a political equilibrium; the other was to provide two leading states, sufficiently powerful to assume each an undisputed pre-eminence in one of these two combinations, so as to control and direct its exertions. These two operations appear to have required to be carried on by distinct processes, in which manner they have been actually conducted. A system of federative relations might best be formed on a large scale by the agency of a considerable government, so lax in its interior constitution, as to be itself a confederation, rather than a single state, the parts being at liberty to connect themselves with other governments. In this manner the slight combinations of the one state would be extended over others, and all would find themselves involved in relations, which connected their interests without infringing their independence. Such was Germany, great enough in the whole to influence the surrounding states, and loose enough in its members to permit them to enter severally into foreign alliances. A state thus relaxed in its interior constitution, would not however possess the energy necessary for directing the measures of a confederacy. It seems therefore to have been necessary, that a great government should be at the same time formed with concentrated power, to be prepared to exercise a controlling superintendence of the system, which should have grown out of the lax composition of the former; and this state would also require another to be opposed to it, in the direction of the efforts of a combination of states, by which its power should be opposed and counterbalanced. Such have been France and Great Britain, the former the predominant government in the later and more perfect arrangement of Europe, the other the balancing government, which protected the inferior states.

It is remarkable that France, which prepared itself to be the predominant state in the future system of Europe, threw off also from itself the two agencies, by which these distinct operations were effected, Germany being detached from the empire of Charlemagne in the year 888, and the duke of Normandy having proceeded to reduce England under his power a hundred and seventy-eight years afterwards. The empire of Charlemagne has been already described as rather the primary form of the system of Europe, than as belonging to the history of a particular government. We accordingly perceive that it successively generated the organs, by which the relations of the system were gradually developed.

It must not, however, be conceived that the sole function of the English, or subsequently the British government, was in a balanced system of policy to lead a confederacy opposed to the power of France. A long and various preparation appears to have been made for developing within it those principles of liberal policy, which might qualify it to be to the continental nations the exemplar of freedom, moderating the control of military monarchies by the lessons which it inculcated, and presenting after a period of revolutionary struggles the general model of liberal institutions. In this character it is now to be contemplated. But surely we may add to this consideration, that within it have also been developed the principles and arrangements of a more perfect form of religious polity, than may elsewhere be found, to be from it distributed over the world, especially in its remoter regions, by the very wide extension of its colonial dependencies, and the facilities of a commerce embracing the earth.

The government of England was the trunk, from which the branches of a free constitution have been spread over the British islands. Though, therefore, England was the soil, in which its growth was matured, yet, in estimating its importance, it must be considered in its relation to the whole of the territory comprehended under the government of the united kingdom. It will, indeed, be shown, in the progress of this work, that the adjacent countries of Scotland and Ireland contributed no inconsiderable influences to the formation even of the English government, and that thus the constitution of our triple empire, however it was primarily the production of its principal member, was yet, in a comprehensive view of its various combinations, the result of the united action of all the parts of that territory, in which it was finally established.

The area of the British islands[1] is considerably less than that of France, the difference amounting to nearly one-third part of the latter. This inferiority was compensated by its greater extent of coast, which supplied in activity, what was deficient in mere strength. Even a single island, comprehending a territory equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland, would in this respect have possessed a considerable advantage; but the distribution of that territory into two islands, as it multiplied[2] the maritime frontier, increased in the same proportion that energy of commercial enterprise, which has furnished the effectual counterpoise to the territorial solidity and weight of France. The division of our insular territory appears to have exercised in this respect an important influence upon the general character and the power of the government. It, however, appears also to have been necessary to that adjustment of its balanced parties, by which its political constitution was combined and regulated. For the formation of the presbyterian party of Scotland a less precise line of demarcation seems to have been sufficient, because that party bore many affinities to the religious establishment of England; but it was otherwise with the Roman-catholic party of Ireland, so alien from the great party of the principal country, that a wholly distinct scene was required for bringing it into existence, and investing it with its full importance.

---

[1] The area of France, before the revolution, comprehended, according to Mr. Pinkerton, 148,840 square miles; that of England and Wales he estimates at 49,450, that of Scotland at 27,793, and that of Ireland at 27,457, making together 104,700.

[2] This multiplication was much increased by the great irregularity of the boundary, which Shakespeare has so well described, in regard to the greater island, by characterising it as the *nook-shotten isle of Albion.*—Henry V., act iii. scene 5.

The natural advantages of the British islands, in situation, in productions, and in magnitude, were such as suited the formation of an important government. Their geographical position in particular corresponded very directly to the functions, which the British empire has discharged in the system of Europe, and of the world. Placed in a temperate region, though more northerly than that of France, they were sufficiently favourable to the development of all the powers of our nature, perhaps more especially of its graver and more serious faculties. Adjacent to the European, and interposed between it and the transatlantic continent, they were fortunately situated for forming and supporting the maritime communications of the world; and their several divisions seem to have been most conveniently stationed for maintaining relations of policy and commerce with various parts of Europe, the principal country being almost contiguous to France its great central state, while Scotland was presented to the northern countries, and Ireland possessed an easy communication with the southern peninsula. To these adaptations of position were added the advantages of a soil sufficiently productive to reward the labours of agricultural industry, and containing within it those mines of coal, which, by furnishing the means of supporting the mighty power of steam, have given a predominance to the manufacturing skill of British artisans. The magnitude also of the territory was adequate to the subsistence of a population, which could maintain its independence in the general struggle of the world; and was likewise sufficient for its own general tranquillity[3], small states being more liable than those of greater dimension, to suffer from the collision of parties inseparable from political freedom.

The general government of the British islands has been gradually combined by four successive unions, of the Saxon kingdoms, of Wales, of Scotland, and of Ireland. England was the scene of the earliest, and of the original, of these incorporations; and it is observable that England is, like France, a level and open country, affording the utmost facility to the growth of a community. The mountainous region of Wales was able to maintain for a considerable time the distinctness of that portion of the island; but England, destitute of natural divisions and fastnesses, was very soon reduced under the dominion of a single government, in which the royal authority assumed a controlling sway. The combination of the government was thus begun in the open plains, and among the gently swelling hills, of the most considerable portion of the future empire, while either the natural strength of a mountainous country, remoteness of position, or insular separation, reserved the others for slowly succeeding incorporations, which should extend its authority, when the influences of those portions had first modified its principles.

---

[3] Mitford's History of Greece, vol. v. p. 107.

The necessities of the western empire, then struggling with Alaric for its existence, compelled the emperor Honorius, in the year 409, to renounce the protection of the Roman province of Britain. The querulous narration of Gildas has represented the Britons as overwhelmed with the most pusillanimous despair at this abdication of their Roman masters; but his total want of authority has been exposed by Mr. Turner[4], who has shown, by the testimony of Zosimus, that, instead of sinking in unmanly despair, they took arms against the Picts and Scots, and drove them from their cities. From this time the part of Britain, which had been possessed by the Romans[5], seems to have been divided among a number of independent societies, probably corresponding to the previous distribution of the provincial government into thirty-three districts, and thus to have afforded occasion to multiplied dissensions, which enfeebled the resistance opposed to the common enemy. About the year 426 this conflict of rival communities appears to have yielded to the ascendency of a prince named Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern[6]. His ascendency, however, which, if fully established, might have given con-

[4] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 124.

[5] Ibid., p. 134.

[6] Ibid. pp. 142—148.

sistency and vigour to the national efforts, proved by its insecurity the occasion of the public degradation. Anxious for the confirmation of his contested authority, he accepted the services of some Saxons, who had landed in the southern part of England; these invited to their assistance others of their countrymen, who were eager to embrace an opportunity of emigration: and at length, though after an obstinate struggle, the Britons were either subdued, or driven into the fastnesses of the Welsh mountains, and the Saxons established themselves in the possession of England.

The northern nations which thus acquired the dominion of the fairest part of Britain, were chiefly the Saxons, the Jutes, and the Angles. Of these the first have given a name to the early period of its history, the last a permanent appellation to the territory itself. The most ancient information which has reached us, that of Ptolemy[7], places them in the southern part of Jutland, and three small adjacent islands, now named North Strandt, Busen, and Heiligland, before the middle of the second century. This situation was favourable to the formation of the piratical habits, by which they became distinguished, especially as Heiligland, the most advanced of their insular possessions, contained a remarkably secure harbour. A particular incident appears to have given the impulse, which determined the northern tribes to this predatory warfare. The emperor Probus[8], to weaken the barbarous enemies of Rome, had adopted the expedient of removing numerous parties of them to very distant stations, and had accordingly posted on the shore of the Black Sea a large body of Franks. The exiled Franks, eager to return to their native country, became the Argonauts of modern times. Having possessed themselves of many ships, they ravaged the coasts of the Mediterranean, and sailing into the ocean, arrived in safety at the Rhine. Before this time the piracies of the Franks and Saxons are not mentioned by the imperial writers; but so frequent did they afterwards become, that within a few years it was found necessary to station a powerful fleet at Boulogne, for the protection of the adjacent country. The precaution contributed to increase the evil. Carausius, the officer intrusted with the command, first encouraged the depredations of the pirates, that he might be enriched by recapturing the spoil, and then, becoming apprehensive of punishment, sought support in his usurpation of the imperial dignity, by communicating to the Saxons a more perfect knowledge of maritime affairs.

---

[7] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. pp. 3—25.

[8] Ibid., p. 59.

Forty years elapsed between the renunciation of the Roman emperor and the arrival of the Saxons under Hengist and Horsa, in which interval, though the Britons were stimulated to military exertion, their habits of political co-operation were weakened and destroyed[9]. With the abdication of the Roman government those civil institutions must at once have ceased, by which society had been bound together in the province; and the people, though roused to act for their own protection against the northern inhabitants of the island, must have been incapable of constituting any orderly polity. The Britons, accordingly, in this interval, opposed to the Saxons a resistance obstinate, but ineffectual. Exercised in their struggles with the barbarians of their own island, they learned to combat with valour the efforts of these foreign enemies; but, abruptly deprived of the combination of political order, they gradually lost, through their disunion, the advantage gained by their courage.

The war with the Saxons was begun in the year 455, or six years after their arrival; and from this time, except perhaps during five years[10], was continued to the year 586[11], when Mercia, the last of the Saxon kingdoms, was established. This was the romantic period of British history. As in a subsequent age, which presents facts more distinctly ascertained, the Saxon Alfred opposed with heroic vigour the ravages of the Danes, so in this age of early and obscure contention did the British Arthur maintain against the Saxons[12] the independence and honour of the original inhabitants. Nor was the fame of this chieftain confined to the narrow field, in which he was distinguished. Spread over the continent, probably by those Britons who were settled in the adjacent province of Gaul,

---

[9] The disastrous anarchy of Britain has been recorded not only in the lamentations of Gildas, but also by Procopius, who says that the country remained under tyrants, and by St Jerome, who describes Britain as a province fertile in tyrants.—Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 140.

[10] This was the British account, which represents them as having during five years quitted the island, and Mr. Turner has mentioned some particulars, which give it probability.—Ibid., pp. 164, 165.

[11] Ibid., p. 163. However it has been stated by Mr. Ellis, that the west-riding of Yorkshire was not completely subdued until the year 620, so that more than two centuries of bloody warfare had elapsed before the invaders were able to break the communication between the Britons of Wales and those of Cumberland and Strathcluyd. Cadwallen, who was killed in the year 631, and is said to have fought against the Saxons fourteen pitched battles, ap-

---

pears to have been the last of the Welsh princes, who attempted a regular contest for victory in the open field.—Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, vol. i. p. 105. Lond. 1805.

[12] Mr. Turner is of opinion that the time of Arthur did not precede the year 528.—Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 231. According to Mr. Ellis, he succeeded to the throne of the Silures about the year 510, and about the year 517 was chosen by the allied princes of Britain to be leader of their confederacy. In this character he gave a temporary predominance to the British arms until the year 540, when a dissension arose between him and his nephew Modred, who entered into a league with their enemies. After two years of contest, the battle of Camblan, which proved fatal to the leaders of both armies, decided for ever the superiority of the Saxons.—Specimens, &c., vol. i. p. 99. Of this ancient prince William of Malmsbury says, that he was dignus plane, quem non mendaces somniarent fabulæ, sed veraces prædicarent historiæ; quippe qui labantem patriam diu sustinuerit, infractasque civium mentes ad bellum acuerit. The fabulous appearance of his history Wace has expressly attributed to its extreme popularity, by which it became subject to numerous interpolations, introduced by various reciters.—Ibid., pp. 90, 91. Mr. Ellis has mentioned with approbation a suggestion, by which Mr. Owen, the compiler of the Welsh Dictionary, had proposed to account for the monstrous absurdity of the story of Arthur; that there were two of the name, the former of whom was a mythological, and perhaps allegorical personage, the son of Uthyr Bendragon, or Wonder, the supreme leader, and Eigyr, the generating power. From this writer he has also quoted the very curious remark, that the Indian Menu, exactly by name, and with similar attributes, has been introduced in the old Welsh tales, acting as one of the agents of Arthur, to recover Olwen, the representative of the fecundity of nature.—Ibid., pp. 97, 98. The scenes of the achievements of the historical Arthur were all placed near the border of England and Scotland, Carlisle having been his favourite seat.—Ibid., p. 123. Such was the fond belief, that Arthur would again appear among his countrymen, that Henry II. found it necessary to disinter the body, and Edward I. to expose it to view.—Andrews's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 306. London, 1794.

it became blended with the tales of Charlemagne, and the early romances of Europe are equally occupied with the round table of the British leader[13], and with the twelve peers of the continental emperor.

The government established by the Saxons has been usually denominated a heptarchy, as comprehending the seven kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, Wessex, East-Anglia, Essex, Northumbria, and Mercia. Mr. Turner however has chosen rather[14], with two ancient authorities, to call it an octarchy, the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira being substituted for that of Northumbria. Among these principalities Wessex, situated in the south-western corner of the island, at length predominated over the rest; and, though the combination of the several parts was then by no means completed, yet in an imperfect form an English monarchy was established by Egbert, king of Wessex, in the year 827, three hundred and seventy-eight years after the arrival of the Saxons, and two hundred and forty-one after the commencement of the last of the Saxon kingdoms.

The two parties, brought thus into combination, were the British[15], who had received from the Roman government the principles of social refinement, but had been corrupted by subjection, and the Saxons, who, unacquainted with civilisation, brought with them the spirit of hardy independence, in which the former were deficient. The enterprises of the Saxons were the struggles of men accustomed and determined to be free[16]; and the struggles of freemen, barbarians as they were, could not fail to bring them forward gradually, though slowly, in a progress of political improvement. Agreeably to this observation we find[17], that the Saxon heptarchy or octarchy presented, in one province or another, an uninterrupted succession of distinguished men. Some of the Saxon princes were eminent for valour or military conduct, some were attentive to religion, some were patrons of learning[18], and some merited the reputation of legislative wisdom. Ina king of Wessex, who began his reign in the year 688, was the great legislator of that period of the history of England, as if this principality was even then preparing to assert its future ascendency.

---

[13] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, diss. 1. In defiance of chronology these two great subjects of romantic fabling were actually combined together, the twelve peers of Charlemagne being represented as present at the magnificent coronation of Arthur in the city of Caerleon.—Ibid. Brittany furnished the communication between the romantic histories of the British and the French.—Specimens, &c., vol. i. pp. 33, &c.

[14] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 163.

[15] The opinion, incautiously embraced by Hume, that the Britons were either extirpated, or at least exterminated, by the Saxons, is now abandoned; and Mr. Ellis has satisfactorily shown, how unreasonably that historian has contended, that the latter were compelled to this severity for the security of their own subsistence. "That a body of northern pirates," he remarks, "should have been unable to subsist in a flourishing Roman colony, without destroying the cultivators of the land, and that they should have found it expedient, while harassed by continual warfare, to lay by the sword, and to take the plough into their own hands, would scarcely appear credible, even if a similar conduct had been attributed, on the best historical evidence, to the Franks and other barbarous conquerors, because the necessity of obtaining recruits by sea was a peculiar obstacle to Saxon population. 'Indeed,' he adds, 'a fact so glaringly absurd could never have obtained admittance into our history, had it not been assumed at the same time, as a self-evident proposition, that our language and laws are purely northern, and exhibit no traces of any

mixture between the Saxon conquerors and the native inhabitants. But this assumption has on examination been found to be false."—Specimens, &c., vol. i. pp. 107, 108. Mr. Ellis goes on to state his opinion, that nearly a third part of our language is of Welsh origin, and to quote Mr. Whittaker, for showing that the Saxon system of policy was grafted upon the British. The latter position has however been contradicted by judge Barrington. When Edward I., says he, had reduced Wales, he caused inquiry into the customs of that country to be made upon oath, for the purpose of preparing a new system of regulations. One hundred and seventy-two persons were examined at four different places, and the result is printed in the appendix of the laws of Howel Dha, or Hoel Dda. All these witnesses agreed, that the princes of Wales could alter the laws at their pleasure, nor do they make the least mention of a parliament, or even a council; they are also silent in regard to any feudal tenure, the property being commonly allodial, and distributed by the law of gavelkind.—Observ. on the more ancient Statutes, pp. 120, 121. Lond. 1796. [16] Their pride of mind was exhibited in one memorable instance, twenty-nine of them having strangled themselves, that they might not be brought into a theatre for a gladiatorial exhibition.—Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 74. [17] Ibid., p. 309. [18] Among these has been particularly mentioned Alfrid of Northumbria, perhaps the model of the illustrious prince of the same name. He received from Adamnan his account of the Asiatic travels of Arcuulfus, who on his return had been driven by a tempest to Britain, and caused it to be made public.—Ibid., p. 305.

The Saxon period of England, as it included the origin of its political, comprehended also that of its ecclesiastical arrangements. The Britons had indeed in earlier times been converted to the religion of Christ[19]. These early churches are however said to have so greatly declined, partly on account of the violences of their northern enemies, partly on account of the corruption of their own manners, that, when the Saxons, who were still pagans, came into the country, some external agency was required for communicating to them the knowledge of Christianity. This was supplied by the zeal of pope Gregory I., who in the year 597 sent the monk Augustin into Kent, the king of which had married a French, and consequently a Christian princess. A struggle immediately began between the papal Christianity of Augustin and the more ancient Christianity of the British Churches[20]; and, though the latter were supported by the kindred churches of the northern part of the island, they were forced to give way to the ascendency of Rome, which was gradually extended throughout the Saxon governments. These governments were accordingly from this time involved in the combinations, of which that ecclesiastical metropolis was the centre, and began then to constitute a portion of the incipient system of Europe. The Saxons, having come into the ancient empire pagans, like the Franks, were like them engaged in a connexion with Rome; and were opposed to the independent churches of the Scots, as these were to the Arian Goths.

---

[19] The first conversion of Britain is involved in obscurity, all which is certain being that there were many Christians in that country at the time of the persecution by Diocletian, which occurred in the beginning of the fourth century.

[20] Augustin demanded that the clergy of the British churches should adopt the Roman method of computing the time of the festival of Easter, should observe the Roman rite in the administration of baptism, and should join with the missionaries in preaching to the Saxons. These demands were at once rejected, as implying an assumption of superiority. Dr. Lingard tells us that they were refused only because Augustin had not risen from his seat to receive the deputies of the British clergy; but he has himself admitted, that the pope had written to Augustin, that he had subjected all the bishops of Britain to his authority, so that the posture of Augustin was correctly interpreted.—Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 112, 113. Lond. 1823.

The ascendency of Wessex, which finally acquired a dominion over the other kingdoms of the Saxons, had been in a very remarkable manner prepared by the circumstances of the royal families of those other kingdoms, which had all become extinct[21]. This state had not previously maintained any general ascendency over the others. Before the monarchy established by Egbert, the Saxon states had always acknowledged the superiority of some one of their kings, and the Saxon chronicle accordingly mentions[22] seven *bretwaldas*, or governors of Britain, who had preceded Egbert; but of the seven enumerated by Bede the second alone was king of Wessex, and the three latter reigned in Northumbria. Nor, before the aggrandisement of Egbert, was Wessex the principal even of the southern states, for Mercia appears to have been more considerable[23], having, besides reducing Kent, Essex, and East-Anglia, effected a subjugation of a part of Wessex itself. The causes, which immediately determined, that Wessex, instead of Mercia, should be the agent in effecting the Saxon union, were that, while the latter was enfeebled by a minor reign, which was especially unfavourable to public power in that unimproved period of society, the resources of the former were directed by the ability of Egbert, who had been tutored by the illustrious Charlemagne, the founder of the new empire of the west.

As Theodoric, the founder of the new kingdom of Italy, had been educated at the court of the Greek emperor, so had Egbert, who erected the Saxon monarchy of England, been favoured with the opportunity of observing the policy, and the military conduct, of the restorer of the western empire[24]. Driven from his country by the jealousy of the reigning king, he had fled for refuge to the court of Charlemagne, where he continued until the year 800, in which he was invited to return home, and ascend the throne of Wessex. The improvement, which he had received from residing with this celebrated monarch, was prudently and successfully employed, during twenty-seven years, in extending his authority over England, a scheme twice before ineffectually attempted, first by Ceaulin, king of Wessex, in the year 592, and two years afterwards by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who had led against Ceaulin the confederate army of the independent states.

---

[21] The historian attributes this not only to the jealousies attending an unsettled succession, but also in some degree to the admiration of a monastic life, and the opinion of merit attending the observance of chastity even in a married state.

[22] These were Ella king of Sussex, Cealwin king of Wessex, Ethelbert king of Kent, Redwald king of East-Anglia, Edwin and Oswald kings of Northumbria, and Oswy king of Bernicia, and latterly of all Northumbria.—History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. pp. 275, 298.

[23] Ibid., p. 356.

[24] There is some difficulty about Egbert's residence in France. The Saxon Chronicle, 73. Flor. Wic. p. 291. Huntingd. 344, and Hoveden, 411, express a period of three years only: ibi per triennium mansit.

It may, at the first view, appear to have been unimportant, whether Wessex or Mercia should predominate in this competition; but a little consideration will discover the importance of the ascendency of Wessex, and at the same time will discover the chief bearing of the subsequent invasion of the Danes.

Though Egbert has been commonly represented as having consolidated the numerous principalities of the Saxons into a single monarchy, yet was the union by no means complete, Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumbria having been only rendered tributary to the king of Wessex, and not incorporated with his immediate territory, which comprised, besides Wessex, but Sussex, Kent, and Essex. A further operation was therefore necessary for perfecting the combination; and this, we perceive in the Danish invasions, which began, some previous piratical descents excepted, in the year 832, or but five years after Egbert had become sovereign of England. These new invaders settled themselves in Northumbria, the most northern of the states composing the Saxon government, and thus, beginning their advances from the other extremity, per-

Malmsbury implies that he went thither from Offa's court, when Brihtric sought the Mercian alliance. It is clear that the other chronicles are mistaken; for how could Offa and Brihtric exile Egbert into France three years only before his accession, when Offa, died six years previous to this period—perhaps the three should be thirteen years.—Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 352, note. On the subject of this residence, Malmsbury says, quod Dei consilio factum intelligo, ut vir ille ad tantum regnum electus regnandi disciplinam a Francis acciperet. Est enim gens illa et exercitatione virium, et comitate morum cunctorum occidentalium facile princeps.—De Gestis Regum Angliæ, lib. ii. cap. 1.

fected the combination of the whole, when they had at length become masters of England. It is observable that Northumbria, harassed by the invasions of the Northern Britons, was less adapted than Wessex to the commencement of a general monarchy, while for the very same reason it afforded an easier establishment to the new invaders. Wessex, on the other hand, was better adapted than Mercia, because the consolidation of the whole was best begun from the southern, as it was perfected by another operation of union proceeding from the northern extremity.

The view, which has been here given, of the chief operation of the Danish establishment, corresponds to its very brief continuance. Canute succeeded to the general government of England in the year 1016, and in the year 1042, Edward, surnamed the Confessor, restored the Saxon line, so that the Saxon succession was interrupted only during twenty-six years. The interposition of the Danes appears to have been required only as a temporary agency in the consolidation of the English government, and the permanent establishment of a dynasty of their princes would probably have obstructed, instead of advancing, its improvement. It accordingly passed away like one of those visitations of nature, which in their occasional occurrence, are necessary, though violent remedies, of severer evils, but in their continuance would be destructive of fertility and life.

The Saxons, Danes, and Normans, who have been successively employed in effecting the early combinations of the English government, were of characters remarkably accommodated to their respective functions The Saxons, who prepared its substantial and fundamental institutions, were barbarians indeed, wildly independent, and destitute alike of the virtues and the vices of refined society; but they were not ferocious and determined enemies of peace, and therefore soon formed themselves into some imperfect associations, fitted to unite, though by very slow degrees, into one national incorporation. To hasten, by the influence of external violence, a crisis so advantageous, came the Danes and Norwegians, who, though sprung from the neighbouring countries, were far more remote from civilisation than the Saxons. Their habits were systematically those of pirates[25], piratical violence being the natural enterprise of the rude period of countries, which, in a more improved period, have supplied the rest of Europe with the stores of naval equipments. Their object was therefore rather pillage than a settlement, and their establishment in England was but the accidental consequence of their incursions. Last came the Normans, who, though originally the countrymen of these fierce depredators, had been softened by a long residence in France, and had become qualified to bring from it, not only the institutions of the feudal polity, but also the refinement of the most improved nation of the west.

From the year 832, in which the Danish invasions began to aim at a permanent establishment, to the year 1016, in which Canute became king of England, elapsed a hundred and eighty-four years, a period comprehending fourteen reigns, besides a part of that of Egbert. Of this period four transitory reigns, together amounting to but thirty-five years, allowed the Danes to make some impression upon the country, and then, in the reign of the illustrious Alfred, which occupied thirty-one years, began the struggle, which was concluded thirty-seven years after his death, in the *great battle*, as it was named, fought by Athelstan. The government of Alfred was the bright meteor, which dissipates for a time the darkness of the storm. Such was the barbarism of the age[26], in which he adorned the English history, that he passed the first eleven years of his life without being able to read, and afterwards, when he had become a sovereign, he could not discover masters capable of instructing him. The activity of his mind was, however, early excited by a view of the living world, for in his childhood he was twice sent by land to Rome; and his misfortunes afterwards supplied a salutary discipline, for, when he had reigned seven years[27], in which he appears to have offended his people by his misconduct, he was driven from his throne, and compelled to a temporary retreat[28].

---

[25] When one individual of a family succeeded to the crown of one of their numerous kingdoms, the other males became of course leaders of pirates, and were named kings, though destitute of territory. The sons, also, of every powerful man undertook to conduct piratical expeditions.—Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 40—42. Piracy was prohibited by Harold Harfagre, king of Norway, who was contemporary to Athelstan.—Ibid., vol. iii. p. 83, &c.

[26] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 98.

The chief bearing of the Danish invasions has been represented to have consisted in the consolidation of the government of England. Of this an example presents itself in the reigns of Alfred, and of his successor Edward the Elder[29], who in the decline of the Danish power effected the incorporation of Mercia with Wessex, when it had first been conquered by the Danes. Another influence of these invasions consisted in giving the first impulse to the formation of an English navy. Though the Saxons had been originally pirates, they were afterwards drawn away from maritime adventure by the struggle, which was necessary for establishing them in the possession of England, nor did they return to it, until the invasions of those other pirates had rendered a naval armament necessary to the protection of their acquisition. This necessity was first perceived by Alfred, who accordingly, about the year 875[30], gained the first naval advantage of his country, and two years afterwards destroyed a considerable fleet, which was coming to the relief of his enemies. A third operation of the Danish invasions appears to have been the restoration of the national energy[31], which had been lamentably enfeebled among the Saxons, notwithstanding the excitement long afforded by their divided government. In their English settlement they were so generally disposed to embrace the indolence of the monastic life, that the defence of the country was almost entirely abandoned, and those who ventured to contend with the Danes, were shamefully overpowered by inferior numbers. The infusion of a new portion of energy had, therefore, become indispensable. This was most commodiously supplied by a people, which, speaking nearly the same language, and differing little in manners and laws, was capable of blending itself easily with the former inhabitants.

---

[27] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. pp. 180, &c. [28] It could not, however, have lasted quite five months.—Ibid., p. 201, note.

[29] Ibid., pp. 161, 162; vol. iii. p. 8. [30] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. pp. 164, &c. This his first fleet he was under the necessity of manning with piratical foreigners. Nor were the maritime cares of this illustrious prince confined to naval armaments. Anxious to introduce among his people a knowledge of foreign regions, he added to his translation of the General History of Orosius, not only a geographical account of Germany composed by himself, but also a narration of two voyages performed by northern mariners, one in the Northern Ocean, the other in the eastern part of the Baltic. He is, moreover, said to have opened a communication with the East Indies, and to have procured great quantities of the most precious productions of that country.—Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 288, &c.; 352, &c. [31] Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 311.

The reign of Alfred was honourably distinguished by other efforts for the benefit of his subjects, besides his concern in the national defence. Deeply lamenting the barbarous ignorance[32], which he saw everywhere around him, he encouraged the translation of useful works into the vernacular language, and, amidst all the urgent cares of his government, became himself the translator of several[33]. His ministers and servants too, who were all alike destitute of information, he compelled even then to apply themselves to study, under the penalty of losing their employments; and he occupied himself in composing from the various laws of various districts of his kingdom, a system of general regulation, which became the foundation of the common law of England.

The instrumentality of the Saxon government appears to have consisted in the formation of a liberal code of equal legislation. The principles of an impartial liberty were fostered by the independent spirit of a government, which had its origin in the equality of the Saxon settlers, and was slowly consolidated into a single state. During all their agitations the business of legislation made a gradual progress. Their laws were first reduced to writing by Ethelbert, king of Kent[34], who ascended the throne so early as in the year 568; afterwards Ina king of Wessex, and Offa king of Mercia enacted laws for the regulation of their respective kingdoms; and Alfred composed from the laws of these three princes the code, which he published for the common government of his subjects. The country was not yet, however, in a situation admitting a complete adjustment of its laws, a part of it being occupied by the Danes, and the remainder being yet but imperfectly united under the Saxon monarchy. Accordingly, even after the time of Alfred, different districts were regulated by the distinct laws of the West-Saxons, the Mercians, and the Danes, until at length, when the struggle with the Danes had wholly ceased, these different systems were combined by Edward the Confessor into a code, the restoration of which became in the succeeding period the object of the patriotic efforts of the nation.

---

[32] "There are very few," says he, speaking of churchmen, "on this side of the Humber, who could understand their daily prayers in English, or translate any letter from the Latin; I think there were not many beyond the Humber; they were so few that I, indeed, cannot recollect one single instance on the south of the Thames, when I took the kingdom."—Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 256. The chief preceptor of Alfred was Johannes Erigena, or John the Irishman, who had been invited by Alfred from France after the death of Charles *the bald.*—Ibid., pp. 268-274. [33] Of the books which he translated, the principal were the General History of Orosius, the Anglo-Saxon History of Bede, the treatise of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, and the Pastoralis Cura of Gregory.—Ibid., pp. 282-310.

One hundred and sixty-four years elapsed between the death of Alfred and the Norman conquest, in which interval the combination of the English government, begun by Egbert and improved by Alfred, was rendered almost complete. Egbert had reduced the several states under a common sovereign, and four of them under a common system of administration; Alfred, though so much occupied in resisting the Danes, had begun, among other improvements, the formation of a common code of law; and in the remaining interval both the incorporation of the several governments and the formation of the common law were brought to their maturity. It remained for the Norman conquest to superinduce such a pressure of royal authority, as might unite all orders of the people in the maintenance of their common freedom.

---

[34] All the important concerns of the Anglo-Saxons were regulated in their *wittenagemotes*, or great councils. Too little is known of the constitution of these assemblies to afford any adequate foundation for the comparisons, which have been instituted between them and the parliaments of a later period; but it seems to be sufficiently ascertained that, while an especial deference was given to the councils of those eminent persons, who were distinguished by the name of *wites*, a conflux of freemen of inferior rank was admitted to the discussion of public questions, and that the approbation of this multitude was regarded as ratifying, with the authority of popular consent, the resolutions formed by the leading members. Whether among these principal men there were any representative members, has not yet been decided. The diligence, however, of Mr. Turner has discovered one subscription, which seems to imply that the person subscribed as a representative: ego Beonna electus consent. et subscrib.—Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iv. p. 278.

The invasions of the Danes, which had been discontinued after the decisive battle fought in the year 938, were renewed in the year 981; and were terminated with a very different result, Canute their prince being in the year 1017 established on the throne of England. They were renewed in the reign of Ethelred, expressively characterised by the name of the *unready*, the last of a series of four minor sovereigns.

Though the invasions of the Northmen had been discontinued, many of them, or of their descendants, remained in England, and it was important that some measures should be employed for conciliating the two great portions of the nation, and disposing them to a cordiality of political union. Such measures were accordingly employed with success by Canute, and this seems to have been the appropriate influence of the exaltation of a Danish prince. It has been related of this monarch, whose reign occupied almost the whole of the period of Danish sovereignty in England[35], that he maintained an exact equality between the two nations in dignity, in council, and in war. Of the salutary operation of his impartial government[36] he received a valuable proof, in the critically important services performed by his English forces against his Swedish enemies. A Saxon sovereign, indeed, might easily have succeeded in conciliating the Danes, when they had been vanquished and depressed; but it is not easy to conceive, that the two portions of the people could be more effectually induced to entertain sentiments of reciprocal respect and kindness, than by a revolution exalting to authority a prince of the vanquished portion, disposed to do every thing in his power for obliterating all distinctions.

The two short reigns, which followed that of Canute, were but the troubled crisis of the declension of the brief dynasty of the Danish, and of the restoration of the Saxon sovereigns. By the death of Hardicanute the crowns of

[35] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. p. 286.

[36] Ibid.

England and Denmark were separated, the family of Canute having become extinct, and the new king of Denmark being too much occupied by a domestic rival to prosecute his pretension to a distant dominion.

The re-establishment of the Saxon dynasty presented a fit occasion for combining all the different systems of law into one common code. When this had been done by Edward, surnamed the Confessor, and the people had been sufficiently trained to the maintenance of equal liberty, the function of the Saxon government may be considered as fulfilled. Nor does that government appear to have been fitted for a much longer duration, since it manifested a tendency towards an excessive aggrandisement of the aristocracy[37], which must speedily have destroyed the authority of the crown. In the reign of Alfred the earldoms of the several shires were held during the pleasure of the king; but towards the end of the Saxon government they had in general become hereditary, and some of them formidable to the sovereign. The reign of Edward the Confessor was accordingly but a struggle between two great aristocratic interests; Siward, earl of Northumberland, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, forming a party in opposition to the influence of earl Goodwin, whose son, Harold, was afterwards placed upon the throne.

The reign of Edward, which seems, by its weakness, to have encouraged the intemperance of an overgrown aristocracy, tended also to facilitate the revolution, by which that aristocracy was repressed. Being the son of a princess of Normandy, and having passed in that country the greater part of his youth, while the Danes were in the possession of the English crown, Edward had become partial to its customs and language. When therefore, he was afterwards advanced to the throne, he not only introduced them at the English court, but also promoted many individuals of that country to distinguished situations in the government. In this manner he formed a party, naturally disposed to favour the revolution, which soon afterwards established a Norman prince upon the throne of England. This party, too, when the king became anxious about the choice of a successor, induced him to encourage the expectations of his kinsman, the duke of Normandy, and thus to give to that duke a pretence for pleading an actual appointment.

---

[37] Miller's Hist. View of the English Government, vol. i. p. 276, &c. Lond., 1803.

The Normans had been led from Norway by their chieftain, Rolfr, or Rollo, when he was banished for an act of piracy[38], then at last prohibited by the sovereign. A prior attempt of this leader was made upon England. If this had been successful, it could but have added another to the Danish or Norwegian invasions of that country. It was, however, repelled by the protecting genius of Alfred, and diverted to France, where these northern emigrants gave the name to the province of Normandy. Thus, while the two distinct migrations of the Saxons and Danes were successively sent to England, for constituting its earlier government, a third was directed to France, where Charlemagne had, a century before, established a new western empire, to acquire there the habits of a strictly feudal administration, with the elegancies of a comparatively polished people, and to introduce them into England, together with a new relation of continental connexion. A hundred and fifty-five years had the Normans remained in this their school of policy, when the circumstances of England invited them to the resumption of their original enterprise.

The influence of the brief reign of Harold consisted in converting into a conquest that, which might otherwise have been merely the irregular succession of a foreign prince[39]. Harold summoned to the field the English party; and, though he was not able to conquer, he was yet able to oppose a resistance sufficiently powerful, to convert the succession of the Norman duke into a military revolution. It was not, however, so much the issue of the battle, though obstinately contested, that gained the kingdom for William, as the death of Harold. The fortune of England had been rashly tried with but a small portion of its force, and the main strength of the country was still unsubdued[40]. Even this imperfect success had been gained by the assistance of an extraordinary combination of circumstances[41]. If William had been able, as he wished, to attempt the enterprise a month sooner, he would have lost the accidental co-operation of a Norwegian invasion: if the wind had not critically dispersed the Saxon fleet, and then as critically favoured his own, he must have exhausted his strength in a naval engagement: if Harold had not been inflamed with the pride of his victory in the Norwegian contest, he would probably have been more cautious in resisting the Normans; if he had not fallen with his brothers in the battle, the expedition might yet have been frustrated. 'Shall we 'not say,' says Mr. Turner, 'that William's enterprise succeeded against all probability, and that chance, or rather Providence, was the agent that enthroned him?'

---

[38] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. p. 93.

[39] At the death of Edward the Confessor there were three survivors of the race of Egbert, three children of a nephew of Edward. These were Edgar, surnamed Etheling, or *the truly noble*, Margaret, and Christina.—Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. iii. p. 148. Of these Edgar lived under the government, first of Harold, and afterwards of William the Conqueror and Henry I.; Margaret married Malcolm III. king of Scotland; and Christina became a nun. Margaret alone had issue, and her daughter Matilda became the wife of Henry I. of England.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the history of England, from the Norman Conquest in the year 1066, *to the beginning of the reign of Stephen in the year* 1135.

Norman Conquest in the year 1066—Feudal system established, and aggrandisement of the papacy favoured—William Rufus king, 1087, and Normandy separated—Henry I. king, 1100—Normandy reunited, 1106.

A QUESTION concerning the successful enterprise of the duke of Normandy has been strenuously agitated, whether the sovereignty of the Norman kings of England was founded on a free election, or on the right of conquest. The authorities quoted by Hume contain abundant proof[1], that the government of William was, in the time of that prince, regarded as established by force, and exercised with violence. This is the only important consideration in regard to the character of the government, as it was then constituted. The controversy, which was begun more than five centuries after the Norman revolution, had its origin in the adulation of the clergy, eager to gratify the passion for power, which possessed the mind of the first of the Stuarts, since his advancement to the throne of England. Elated by this sudden and considerable augmentation of his dominions, he saw no limits to the pretensions of his authority[2], and forgetting all the principles of his presbyterian education, attached himself to the episcopacy of England, as the surest support of the dignity and authority of his crown. The gratitude of the English clergy corresponded to the partiality of the prince. In the year 1607[3] two treatises were published, maintaining the most extravagant principles of despotism. One of these, the work of Cowel, affirmed that the king is not bound by the laws, or by the oath which he swore at his coronation; that he is competent to ordain laws without the assistance of a parliament; and that only by his special favour are his subjects permitted to consent to the subsidies, which he requires. The other, written by Blackwood, insisted that the English were all slaves from the Norman conquest. The parliament, resenting these attacks on the constitution, ordered that the two writers should be prosecuted; but the king prorogued it, and, while he issued a proclamation condemning the books, protected their authors. The doctrine inculcated in the latter treatise was encountered by N. Bacon, in his Discourse on the Laws and Government of England, published soon after the death of Charles I.; and has been again refuted by the late professor Millar of Glasgow[4]. In opposition to the argument founded on the right of conquest it has been urged, that the battle of Hastings was only a struggle between two claimants of the crown; that the crown was afterwards offered by the English, and accepted by William, on specified conditions; and that the title *conqueror*, in its feudal acceptation, is equivalent only to *acquirer*.

---

[40] Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. p. 398. [41] Ibid., pp. 399, &c.

[1] Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 309, &c. London, 1770.

---

[2] Even the prospect of this advancement seems to have inspired such sentiments. In the True Law of Free Monarchies, published in the year 1598, he maintained that Samuel, or God, gave a king to the Jews, a pattern for all Christian monarchies, whose established succession it is impious to invert. 'For the poorest schoolmaster cannot be displaced by his scholars, much less the great schoolmaster of the land by his subjects.' He admitted that tyrants should not escape unpunished, but was satisfied with remitting them to the scourge of God, 'the sorest and sharpest schoolmaster that can be devised.'—Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 22. Lond. 1800. The doctrine of divine right, which has been commonly ascribed to this prince, was however more ancient. Shakspeare, in his play of Richard II., printed in the preceding year, had introduced the same maxim of policy:

'The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord.'

Doctor Johnson appears to have been much comforted in discovering this more ancient authority. The royal pedant indeed appears to have only furnished the schoolmaster, the doctrine itself having been rather the result of the religious struggle of the age, than the invention of any individual. When the papal supremacy had been rejected, and the reformers appealed from it to the sacred writings, it was natural that the exhortations to civil obedience, which they contain, should be strictly interpreted, and that the authority of rulers should have been so established upon divine right, as to preclude all opposition, though in process of time it was concluded, that the exhortations of the sacred writings should be referred to the general support of the institution of civil government, not to an unqualified acquiescence in the will of every ruler. It is observable that opposition to the pope had, almost two centuries before the reformation, suggested to Dante the notion of the divine right of kings, which he published in his treatise De Monarchiâ. The principle, thus at first opposed to the pope, was afterwards opposed to the people.

It is more important to notice an observation made by Mr. Ellis, concerning the influence of the rapidity, with which this great enterprise was achieved. The Norman conquest, he has remarked[5], was beheld by the Welsh with the greatest exultation, because it avenged them of their enemies the Saxons, and particularly of Harold, from whom they had suffered much; but they seem to have derived from it no advantage beyond the present gratification of their passions. Had William's success, he adds, been less rapid and complete, it is probable that, during his struggle for empire, he might have invited the Welsh princes to share in the dangers and profits of his enterprise. If now we consider, what the consequences of such a policy would naturally have proved, we shall be led to conclude, that it must have been followed by a re-establishment of the old British inhabitants on the entire ruin of the Saxons, together with a sudden incorporation of Wales with England. Neither of these results however could have been favourable to the improvement of the country. The British appear to have been destitute even of the forms of a popular constitution, and to their Saxon masters we are accordingly indebted for those institutions[6], which controlled and modified the military dominion of the Normans. If therefore the Welsh or British had been again raised to authority and influence, the revolution would have been in this respect a retrograde movement, and must have embarrassed and retarded the general progress of the nation. The independence of Wales, on the other hand, was important to the subsistence of the parties of the English government. As it was maintained only by the balanced contention of the neighbouring people[7], so was it reciprocally instrumental in supporting against the crown the power of the barons. The rapid success of the enterprise of William precluded both consequences, by freeing him from the necessity of courting the assistance of the British. The Saxon policy accordingly remained to furnish a basis for the future edifice of the constitution, and the principality of Wales preserved its independence, to give assistance to the struggles of an oppressed nobility in erecting the superstructure.

---

[3] Neale's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 72. 1793, &c.

[4] Hist. View of the English Government, book ii. chap. i.

[5] Spec. of Early Engl. Metr. Romances, vol. i. p. 109.

The Norman prince, who effected this revolution, was the illegitimate son of the preceding duke; and this circumstance, by subjecting him to the competition of legitimate claimants of the duchy, appears to have schooled him for the great enterprise, which he afterwards achieved. Like the ancient Philip, he passed his earlier years in exertions for the establishment of his domestic power; and, like him too, he distinguished his maturity by the splendid acquisition of a foreign dominion.

Though, at the time of this enterprise, the Saxon government appears to have been hastening towards a crisis, yet many and various circumstances must have co-operated to facilitate to a foreign prince so sudden an acquisition of the crown. Among these circumstances we first observe the Norman descent and education of Edward the Confessor, occasioned by the temporary sway of the Danes, which had driven into Normandy his father Ethelred II. From this source were derived the partiality afterwards manifested by Edward for Norman usages and connexions, the party formed in the English court by the advancement of Norman ecclesiastics to English bishoprics, and the vague encouragement given by the king to the expectations of the duke of Normandy. We next perceive the peculiar situation of the government of France, of the head of which the duke was a feudal vassal. Philip I. of France having ascended the throne at the early age of eight years, just six years before the enterprise of William, the regency of that kingdom was confided to the count of Flanders who was father-in-law to the duke; and the remainder of his long reign of forty-eight years, being characterised only by the imprudence and inefficiency of the sovereign, constituted just such an interruption of the aggrandisement of the royal power, as appears to have been necessary for freeing from molestation the great vassal of the crown, in an enterprise so important to the subsequent interests of the two countries. A third favourable circumstance is found in the actual situation of the adjacent countries[8], which at that time abounded in adventurous spirits languishing for action, the crusades not having yet begun to present occasions for indulging military ardour. All these persons were attached to William by the personal qualities displayed in the thirty years, during which he had already governed Normandy. The princes, says Sir William Temple [9], trusted his faith and his promises, which he had never forfeited; the knights and soldiers relied upon his valour and fortune, which had never failed in the long and happy course of his reign. Other circumstances were auspicious in the crisis of the enterprise. The accidental concurrence of a Norwegian invasion distracted the attention of Harold;

---

[6] The constitution of the *wittenagemote* or general assembly of the principal men of the nation, and the popular election of all magistrates. Blackstone's Comment., book iv. ch. iii. To these may be added the county-courts and the courts of the hundred.

[7] Spec. of Early Engl. Metr Romances, vol. i. p. 116.

[8] Hist. of Henry II. by Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. p. 13. Lond. 1767.

[9] Works of Sir W. Temple, vol. ii. p. 548. Lond. 1731.

the favourable influences of the wind freed William from the necessity of engaging in a naval battle; the success gained by Harold over the Norwegians disposed him to hazard a decisive engagement with the Normans; the death of the English king left the field open to the ambition of the Norman duke; and the imbecility of the legitimate heir destroyed the hope of opposing him by a new competition. By Rapin[10] the success of the enterprise has been represented as wholly unaccountable, the Normans having effected, by a single action, the conquest of a country, which neither the Danes, the Saxons, nor the Romans themselves, could subdue, but by numberless engagements, and after the lapse of ages. The various particulars, which have been stated, may remove the difficulty.

The influences of this revolution appear to have been various and important. It regenerated the spirit of the people, which in the Saxon period had been corrupted and debased; it gave to the sovereign a power, which was sufficient to compress into union the several orders of the state; it made preparation for the aggrandisement of the papal authority in England; it established regulations for diminishing, or mitigating, the servitude of the rustic population; and it gave a beginning to the literature, and even to the language, of England.

The Anglo-Saxons, whose degeneracy had for a time been corrected by the invasions and the dominion of the Danes and other Northmen, had again time, since the re-establishment of their own dynasty, for becoming so corrupted, as to require a new infusion of energy for the final formation of the character of the English. Such an infusion the Normans were well fitted to supply[11], for their habits had been formed through a long period of difficulty, in which the duchy of Normandy had been maintained and improved by the uninterrupted energy of its rulers. The wasted state of the province, at the time of their settlement, seems to have preserved the energy of this northern people, as it imposed upon them a necessity of industrious exertion, even for their subsistence.

[10] Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 163, 164.

[11] Turner's History of England from the Norman Conquest, vol. i. pp. 51—57. Lond., 1814.

That the Norman revolution armed the crown with an overbearing power, was chiefly the result of a change in the policy of William, which occurred about six months after the conquest, when he revisited his original territory. The beginning of his government of England had been sufficiently mild and conciliating[12], nor had he confiscated the estates of any persons, except those who had opposed him in arms, affecting to consider Harold as an usurper, and himself as the lawful successor of Edward. Whether his return to Normandy was, as some have supposed, prompted by a crafty design of giving occasion to larger confiscations, that he might satisfy the cravings of his followers, or by the vanity of displaying his acquired grandeur to his ancient subjects, the consequence of his departure was that the government was administered so oppressively[13], as to provoke the English to discontent and insurrection. William immediately repaired to England, and, finding it necessary to replenish his treasury, restored the odious tax of Dane-gelt[14], which had been imposed by the Danes. The discontent of the English was hereby increased, and their insurrections were rendered more considerable; and the policy of William was gradually converted into a systematic plan of effecting their degradation and ruin, insomuch that, before the end of his reign[15] there were very few Englishmen among the lords or dignified clergy. In the prosecution of this new policy, the feudal system, which had been very imperfectly adopted in the Anglo-Saxon constitution[16], was completely established, but in a spirit much more monarchical than that, which had characterised it in France, the country of its origin. The Normans, who had received this system from the general government of France, had given to its forms a consistency which had not originally belonged to them, and had in particular combined an effective dominion of the prince with a military nobility. In England the system was established by a revolution, which eventually placed the property of the land at the disposal of the sovereign, and thus enabled him to reserve for himself a very considerable portion[17], in aid of the services attached to the lands, which he bestowed on his vassals. The Norman followers of William, though bold and high-spirited, were induced by their apprehensions of the vanquished nation to submit themselves to a vigorous exercise of the royal authority[18]. A government thus oppressive in its character could not indeed have proved beneficial, if principles and habits of freedom had not been previously established in the hearts of the people. The laws of Edward the Confessor had, however, constituted a code of civil regulation, which was dear to the memory of the English. The ancient customs of the nation accordingly made such a resistance to the feudal system[19], as was not opposed to it in other parts of Europe, not even in Scotland. The final triumph of these original principles is indeed curiously evinced in the statute of the twelfth year of Charles II., which extended to all the estates of the nobility and

---

[12] Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. p. 29.

[13] His subsequent conduct, in not punishing the oppressors, might seem to justify the former supposition; but he may have availed himself of an occasion, which he had not planned.

[14] This was a tax of one shilling for every *hyde* of land throughout England, imposed in the reign of Ethelred, and employed either in buying peace from the Danes, or in making preparation for resisting them. A *hyde* of land is described by Bede as so much, as will maintain a family.

[15] Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. v. p. 38. Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. p. 534.

[16] The lands of the Saxons were all subject to military service, and a *heriot* was paid upon the death of each possessor. Several distinctions, however, have been mentioned by Doctor Sullivan, as discriminating the Saxon from the feudal polity. Besides that no traces of the feudal incidents of wardship and marriage can be discovered among the Saxon usages, the lands of the Saxons might be alienated at pleasure,

---

and might be devised by will; they were not liable to forfeiture for felony, and were divisible among all the sons by the law of gavelkind; the military duty, too, was attached to the land, and not to the person, every *hyde* of land furnishing a man, whether it was held by one or more persons; nor was the man supported from the *hyde* of land, except while he was serving within his own county. Doctor Sullivan admitted that there were among the Saxons some few military tenures, but thought that even these were not hereditary. He supposed them to have been introduced by Egbert, who had resided in the court of Charlemagne, and to have been occasioned by the necessity of providing a body of cavalry for opposing the incursions of the Danes, the other troops being foot-soldiers.—Lectures on the Constitution and Laws of England, lect. 27, 28.

[17] 1422 manors, besides a great number of forests, parks, chases, farms, and houses, in all parts of the kingdom.—Henry, vol. vi. pp. 11, 12.

[18] Hume, vol. ii. p. 81.

[19] Hist. of Henry II., vol. ii. p. 211.

gentry the socage-tenure, regarded in the feudal ages as mean and contemptible.

While William was imposing such a weight of power on the other orders of the state, as naturally tended to excite among them a spirit of union and concerted resistance, he at the same time, though unintentionally, prepared the ecclesiastical agencies, by which they were assisted in throwing off the extraordinary pressure of the royal power, and beginning that combination of balanced authorities, which was at length adjusted into a free constitution. It may, indeed, be supposed, that the commons would, in the process of time, have become sufficiently powerful for giving to the aristocracy an effectual support; but it is certain that the effort was actually made, before they had attained that degree of importance, and that ecclesiastical agencies were exercised in procuring for the nobles an acknowledgment of rights, which they were not then prepared to extort. The great charter might have been demanded in vain, if such agencies had not been employed in degrading the king on the one hand, and on the other in animating the people. If moreover our view be extended to a more distant period, we may discover in the aggrandisement of the papal dominion the predisposing principle of that reformation, which excited new struggles for liberty, and thus eventually perfected the constitution.

The conqueror, with the customary policy of the founders of new dynasties, endeavoured to secure the attachment of the clergy by donations of extraordinary liberality, which he was enabled to do by those events, that had placed at his disposal the whole land of the kingdom. This policy drew the king perhaps much further than he intended to go. Nearly one-half of the landed property[20] having been given to the clergy, it became necessary for the defence of the nation, that each bishop and abbot should be subjected to the feudal obligation of furnishing to the king a certain number of knights, proportioned to the ecclesiastical property which he possessed, and in case of failure to the penalties exacted from other persons. The innovation was however so generally offensive to the clergy, that the king conceived it to be necessary to the tranquillity of his government, that the English should be deprived of all the considerable dignities, and foreigners substituted in their places. For this measure he found himself compelled to have recourse to the authority of the pope, inviting into England a papal legate, to effect the desired change of the prelacy. In this manner were the clergy of the kingdom subjected directly to the Roman pontiff, and a papal party was formed among them, capable of opposing and controlling the sovereign. Such a party had indeed been already begun by the monastic establishments of the Anglo-Saxon period; it was however at this time strongly reinforced by the interposition of the papal authority in the appointment of so many foreigners to the prelacy[21]. The same remoteness of situation, which had originally retarded the formation of this party, contributed, when it had been formed, to invest it with more power, than in countries less distant from the seat of the papal government.

---

[20] Of 60,215 knights'-fees registered in Domesday-book, 28,115 were held by the clergy.—Lord Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 179.

By some special measures also William prepared the aggrandisement of the power, which was afterwards exercised in controlling the authority of the crown. Influenced by the superstition of his age and country, he co-operated with the papacy in enforcing the celibacy of the clergy of England, a measure necessarily tending to loosen the bonds connecting that body with the government of the country, and to strengthen its attachment to the papal see. By another measure he yet more directly separated the clergy from the other orders of the state. The Saxon bishops and earls had presided jointly in the county-courts; but William ordained that the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions should be separated[22], gratifying in this particular the wish of the clergy, who were everywhere endeavouring to exempt themselves from the secular authority.

The conqueror opened at the same time, as Mr. Turner has remarked[23], an important channel for the augmentation of the free part of the people, by ordaining that a residence of any of the servile portion for a year and a day, in any city, burgh, walled town or castle, no claim having been preferred, should confer a right of freedom. Those also, who remained in a state of servitude, he protected by ordaining that they should be bound only to specific services, and should not be sold out of the country; and for those, whom their masters might be disposed to liberate, he provided an easy and public mode of manumission.

---

[21] Hume, vol. i. p. 283.

[22] Blackstone's Comm. book iv. ch. 33.

[23] Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

The establishment of the Norman dynasty of England became also the epoch of the mental cultivation of the people, thereby furnishing the most efficacious corrective of the very abuses, to which it gave existence in the aggrandisement of the papacy[24]. Some illustrious names of literary men do indeed appear in the history of the Anglo-Saxon period, but that period must be considered as generally unenlightened. The series of literary tradition was maintained by those men, to furnish happier ages with the precious materials of improvement; but the active energy of mind was not, even in them, awakened to an original exercise of its powers, and England accordingly passed through this long period in a middle state between ignorance and knowledge, to be indebted to the court of its Norman sovereigns for the first manifestation of inventive genius.

It has been proved[25], even on the authority of French antiquaries, that the court of the Norman sovereigns of England was the earliest school of French literature. Normandy was the province of France, in which, under the protection of a vigorous government, was formed the romance-language, the original of the modern dialect of that country, while the other provinces, until near the conclusion of the tenth century, were torn by contending factions. The *scalds* too, or northern bards, who had come into France with the Normans[26], are regarded as fairly entitled to be ranked among the inventors of romantic composition, though not to be esteemed as its exclusive authors. It is indeed certain, that the first mention of the stories of chivalry occurs in the song of a minstrel at the battle of Hastings. The court of Normandy, which was thus the birth-place of the language and the literature of France, was by the conquest transferred to England, where it became in importance and dignity much superior to that of the contemporary kings of the neighbouring country, the kings of England being incomparably more wealthy, though not in the same proportion more powerful. The language spoken at the two courts was then the same, and it may be presumed, that the candidates for patronage would resort to that, which by its superior wealth was more able to gratify their wishes. Though the romance-language[27] had begun about the commencement of the ninth century to supersede the Latin in colloquial use[28], it was not employed as a written language long before the time of the conquest, so that this event seems to have been well accommodated in time to the formation of a school of Norman literature. It is even observable, that the new ecclesiastical establishment of the country, so closely connected with the papacy by the policy of William, contributed much to that increase of learning, which afterwards effected its separation, the conquest[29] having been followed by an extraordinary augmentation of the number of religious houses, and a school being established in almost every convent.

---

[24] The literature of the Anglo-Saxons must be dated from the commencement of their knowledge of Christianity at the close of the sixth century. In the seventh a desire of learning began to be diffused among them, and many retired into Ireland, which was then distinguished for religious knowledge. Towards the end of that century their intellectual improvement was advanced to its greatest height by two ecclesiastics, Theodore of Tarsus and his friend Adrian, whom the pope had sent into England. The most eminent scholars among the Anglo-Saxons were Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin. Of these the first was a pupil of Adrian, and the last was the friend and preceptor of Charlemagne.—Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iv. book vi. ch. 6. [25] Spec. of Early Engl. Metr. Romances, vol. i. pp. 38, &c. [26] Ibid., pp. 16, 28, 29.

Of the modern language of England the second great ingredient has been introduced by the Norman conquest. Various opinions have been entertained concerning the proportion, in which the Norman French was combined with the speech of the Anglo-Saxons. Hickes[30] was of opinion, that not less than nine-tenths of our present words are of Saxon origin; Tyrwhitt, on the other hand, contended, that about the time of Chaucer, though the form of our language was still Saxon, the matter was in a great measure French; and Mr. Ellis has declared his opinion, that both these statements are exaggerated. Concerning the nature of the combination, the last-mentioned writer has observed, that, besides the introduction of French words, a very important change was made in the structure of the Anglo-Saxon language by the extinction of its ancient inflections, in the same manner in which the Latin language was transformed into various modern dialects, a change arising, as he has remarked, in each case from the difficulty of combining two languages differing in their radical words, and in their constructions. With this change of structure were also introduced the measures of versification[31]. The mechanism of the Anglo-Saxon poetry has never been explained, and it is accordingly still doubtful, whether that poetry was strictly metrical, or distinguished from prose only by a species of rhythm. It is however generally admitted[32], that our rules of poetry have been all derived from the French, who appear to have adopted them, together with rhyme, from the monkish writers of Latin poetry. To the Norman poets, says Mr. Ellis, we owe the forms of our verse, and translations of their writings were among the earliest compositions of the English language.

---

[27] Spec. of Early Engl. Metr. Romances, vol. i. p. 2. [28] Ibid, p. 12. [29] Between the conquest and the death of John, 557 such establishments were formed.—Henry, vol. vi. p. 164. [30] Spec. of Early English Poets, vol. v. pp. 2, 3, 6. London, 1803.

The English language[33] did not begin to exist, or at least was not applied to any literary purpose, until a considerable period had elapsed since the conquest. The language of the church was Latin, that of the court was Norman, that of the people Anglo-Saxon, and an Anglo-Norman jargon was employed in the intercourse between the conquerors and the conquered ; and it was only when the two nations had been confounded into one common aggregate of population, by the connexions of families, and a community of interests, that the two languages could be truly amalgamated into one consistent form of speech. According to doctor Johnson[34], the Saxon began about the year 1150 to take a form, in which the beginning of the present English may be plainly discovered; but he regarded Gower, who lived in the fourteenth century, as the first, who could properly be said to have written our language. Mr. Ellis however says, that the Saxon language and literature[35] began to be mixed with the Norman about the year 1180, and that the change may be considered as completed in the year 1216, the time of the accession of Henry III.

---

[31] Spec. of Engl. Poets, vol. i. pp. 11, 12. [32] Ibid., pp. 35, 36. [33] Ibid., p. 37. [34] Preface to his Dictionary. [35] Spec. of Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 76.

Under all these influences the general character of the nation appears to have received an important improvement. William of Malmesbury, who, as he wrote more than half a century after the conquest, and was connected by blood both with the English and with the Normans, may be considered as impartial, has given a most unfavourable description of the Anglo-Saxon character at the time of that event, and has pointed out the beneficial change, which was then introduced. Learning and religion, he says[36], had decayed; the clergy could scarcely recite the offices of the church, the nobles were immersed in gluttony and licentiousness, the people were the prey of the rapacious violence of the lords, and all orders were abandoned to drunkenness. The Normans, on the other hand, he describes as in a state of high comparative refinement, magnificent in their buildings, ostentatious in their personal decoration, kind in their intercourse with strangers, attentive to religion, and not addicted to any excessive indulgence. Of the commixture of the two nations he remarks, that the Anglo-Saxons communicated to the Normans their own intemperance, acquiring in other respects the manners of the victors. It seems as if the national character, formed amidst the disorderly licence of a popular government, had required for its refinement the example of the elegance of a splendid court.

In estimating the effects produced upon the national character, it may be right to notice the practice of hunting, which has been derived from the Normans, but has been materially modified by the circumstances of England. This rustic amusement, which on the continent is a shooting excursion, became a chase in an island, in which the only fierce animals[37] had been previously extirpated by the care of a Saxon sovereign; and the habits of strenuous and persevering exertion have been thereby maintained in those classes of society, into which the secure enjoyment of wealth might else have introduced a luxurious indolence, incapacitating them for the military service of their country. The commentator of the laws of England[38] has inveighed against the modern game-law, as a bastard-slip from the old forest law of the Norman kings, condemning it as repugnant to justice and to reason; but, however it might appear to a lawyer, a politician may perhaps discover in the habits which it maintained, a salutary preservative of the energy of the upper orders, in a country separated to a great degree from the contentions of the continent, and therefore not affording generally to its gentry the discipline of a military life.

---

[36] De Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. iii. f. 57. Lond., 1596.

[37] Wolves had been extirpated by the care of Edgar in the year 961.

The first Norman sovereign of England died after a reign of twenty-one years, and was succeeded on the throne of that kingdom by his second son William, surnamed Rufus, his elder son Robert inheriting the duchy of Normandy. In this divided succession, which appears to have been occasioned by the rebellious conduct of Robert[39], to whom he refused to grant the duchy, as he had promised the French government, if his English expedition should prove successful, we perceive a beneficial influence of the continental connexion of the Norman government of England on the formation of the English constitution. The Norman barons, being generally possessed of estates in both countries, were uneasy at their separation, and were therefore anxious for the advancement of the elder brother to the English throne, as the most probable method of effecting their reunion. William on the other hand, apprehensive of the machinations of those, to whom in any other danger he would have looked for assistance, found himself compelled to exhibit the first symptoms of a disposition to favour the interests of the native English. In the time of his father the revolt of the duchy had rendered the assistance of the English necessary to the crown, and had naturally suggested to them some consciousness of their own importance. No other consequence however appears to have followed that crisis, the revolt having been speedily suppressed; and it was on the formal separation of the two territories, that it was first found necessary to recognise, by some general promises of reformation, the claims of English subjects.

---

[38] Comment., book iv. ch. 33.

[39] Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 91—93.

The promises of William Rufus were, after some time, wholly disregarded. When the death of Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury had removed the only restraint of his propensity to tyranny and extortion, his reign became a series of acts of oppression, exercised indifferently upon both parts of the nation. The Normans probably had become afraid to rebel, lest the English should be employed to drive them out of the kingdom; and the latter had been so generally depressed, that they were at this time destitute of a chief, to lead an insurrection. The king was accordingly enabled to establish his own power on the apprehension, or the weakness, of the two great parties of his subjects, and thus to set both at defiance. This very tyranny however, succeeding to the promises made at the commencement of his reign, had the salutary operation of convincing those, whom his promises had previously encouraged, of the necessity of opposing, in conjunction with their Norman fellow-subjects, a steady and regulated resistance to the oppressions of the crown. The shortness of this reign, which was limited to thirteen years, fortunately hindered, as lord Lyttelton has observed[40], the licensed corruption of the court and army from being extended to the body of the people. While therefore, by its inconsistent combination of concession and tyranny, it tended to rouse and invigorate the spirit of liberty, it was happily confined to a time so short, as to preclude the pernicious effects, which might have resulted from its irregularities, though sufficiently long for impressing the people with a conviction of the necessity of procuring a solemn recognition of their rights.

The reign of William Rufus gave at the same time a beginning to that great struggle with the ecclesiastical power, which soon afterwards exercised an important influence upon the government of England. In the rapacity of his oppression he retained in his own possession during some years the sees of many bishoprics[41], and among them that of Canterbury, which he kept vacant after the death of Lanfranc, until in the alarm of a severe illness he was induced to nominate Anselm to that dignity. The new archbishop, though he had shrunk from his advancement, was a most determined supporter of the papal supremacy. When therefore the king, after his recovery, refused to correct the abuses of his conduct, the two powers came into direct collision, and the result was, that the prelate retired to Italy, where he remained until the death of William.

---

[40] Hist. of Henry II:, vol. i. p. 92.

[41] Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 116.

Two such reigns as those of the two Williams, to be instrumental to the formation of a free constitution, required to be followed by one of a description very different from either, by one fitted to conciliate the minds of the people, and to reform the public disorders. Such a reign was accordingly supplied in the long government of Henry I., which lasted one year more than the sum of the two preceding, this prince being a man of a mind so cultivated by education, that he acquired a surname, Beauclerc, expressive of his proficiency in learning. The reign of Henry indulged with a royal charter the hope[42], which the promises of William Rufus had excited, and by a vigorous administration of justice, during thirty-five years of scarcely-interrupted tranquillity[43], reduced to order the disagreeing elements, of which the people was composed. That division of parties, which to an artful tyrant presents so favourable an opportunity for oppressing both, and which had probably induced the Normans to submit to an augmented severity of government, was by the prudence of Henry I. in a great measure abolished, and the people of England began in his reign, for the first time since the conquest, to consider themselves as one nation, enjoying common rights.

The concession of Henry I., which was immediately the result of the peculiar situation, in which he was placed at the commencement of his reign, affords another example of

[42] This however was not properly the first of the English charters, for lord Lyttelton has quoted a statute of William the Conqueror, which after Bacon he has named the first great charter.—Hist. of Henry II., vol. i. pp. 42, 524. Another statute also expressly confirmed the laws of Edward, as they were improved by the statutes ordained ad utilitatem Anglorum.—Ibid. p. 526. But the charter of Henry I. was the first of the written obligations obtained from the sovereign in consequence of the experience of oppression, though not the first royal recognition of the rights of the people.

[43] Only once, and but for a very short time, by a revolt of the Norman barons in the commencement of the reign.

the influence of continental embarrassment on the English government. As the disaffection of his Norman subjects of England had determined William Rufus to court the assistance of the native English, so a more urgent apprehension of the same nature determined his brother Henry I. to attach them to his interest by a formal charter. William had been recommended by his father to the succession of his English crown[44], and the people acquiesced in the recommendation. The succession of Henry was embarrassed by a treaty concluded between William Rufus and Robert, by which it had been agreed, that the survivor should enjoy the possession both of England and Normandy. It was therefore necessary that he should conciliate the English nation by granting a formal charter[45], securing to it the observance of the laws of Edward the Confessor, modified however by the feudal institutions of William the Conqueror, though with some considerable mitigations of the feudal exactions. This charter was, according to Sir Henry Spelman, the model of the great charter, containing the most of the articles of it, either particularly expressed or comprehended generally under the confirmation of the laws of Edward.

Nor was the charter of Henry a merely temporary expedient for procuring popularity, for he faithfully observed the engagements[46], which he then contracted, taking off the burthens illegally imposed, and inflicting punishment on the agents or authors of these oppressions. His reign was indeed honourably and usefully distinguished by a vigorous and severe administration of justice[47], which repressed the violence and rapine of the powerful, and established the authority of the law. Lord Lyttelton has accordingly remarked[48], that from the concession of his charter, or from the first year of his reign, must be dated the union of the Normans with the English, the interests of both being thenceforward inseparably connected under one common acknowledgment of national rights. Upon the return indeed of Robert from the east, where he had been engaged in a crusade, Henry was abandoned by most of the Norman barons of England, who again began to be apprehensive of losing some of their estates by the separation of the duchy from the crown of that country; but this defection served only to throw the king, like his predecessors, on the support of his English subjects, and to increase his desire of conciliating their affections. The cause of the alienation of the Norman barons was at length removed in the year 1106 by the reduction of Normandy, as on the other hand the union of the native English with their Norman fellow-subjects had been before promoted by the marriage of the king with Matilda of Scotland, the niece of Edgar Etheling, by which the royal families of the Normans and Saxons became connected.

---

[44] The dying monarch, remembering the horrors of his own government, declined to nominate a successor, lest his disposition of the crown should be the cause of similar violences, but expressed his hope that William, his obedient son, might be allowed to possess the crown of England.—Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 97.

[45] Lord Lyttelton, vol i. p. 99.

[46] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 100, 489. Hume indeed has said, that he never once thought during his reign of observing one single article of it, and that the whole fell so much into neglect and oblivion, that in the following century, when the barons, who had heard an obscure tradition of it, desired to make it the model of the great charter, which they exacted from king John, they could find only a single copy of it in the kingdom.—Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 346. For this representation however of the subsequent conduct of Henry he has adduced no authority; and the improbability of the account given by M. Paris, of the loss or suppression of the charter, has been shown by Blackstone, in his Law Tracts, pp. 284, &c.

When the people of England had obtained a formal recognition of their common liberties, the distinctness of the government of Normandy would have been unnecessary and inconvenient. We accordingly find that the two territories were united under the government of Henry in the sixth year of his reign. The peculiarities of the character of Robert duke of Normandy, which had occasioned and maintained the separation, put an end to it after nineteen years. The revolt, to which he had been excited by his impatient temper, appears to have determined his father to recommend his brother, as his own successor on the throne of England, which began the separation; and his amorous delay in Italy, when he was returning from a crusade, facilitated the succession of Henry, by which it was continued. His excessive remissness in the government of Normandy, on the other hand, allowed such licence to the violences of the barons of that duchy, that his other subjects solicited the interposition of Henry, whose good character had been established by the vigour of his government of England. It is remarkable that this prince, whose censurable qualities appear to have produced effects so important, and even so contrary, was the only prince of his family, to whom conduct thus weak and inconsiderate has been attributed.

---

[47] Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 152, 153.

[48] Hist. of Hen. II. vol. i. p. 100.

In another struggle, in which Henry was engaged, we perceive the progress of that great contest with the papal power, which afterwards exercised so considerable an influence on the English government. Anselm, who had been driven by William Rufus into exile, for appealing to the Roman pontiff, was recalled by Henry, who found it expedient to interest the clergy in his favour. The primate returned a triumphant confessor in the cause of the church; he immediately renewed with augmented violence the struggle, in which he had suffered; and he was enabled to gain in the progress of it various important advantages for the see of Rome. Alarmed at the denunciation of the papal censure, the king renounced the prerogative of investing his bishops with their temporal possessions[49], contenting himself with receiving the formality of homage: he was also induced to concur with Anselm in enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, which had not yet been completely established, and to permit a papal legate to preside in an ecclesiastical council convened in his capital: and towards the end of his reign, but it is not certain that he was informed of the innovation, an oath of direct allegiance to the pope was imposed on the archbishop of Canterbury, without any reservation of fidelity to his prince, which oath was afterwards extended to the whole body of bishops. These encroachments were however little felt in the reign of this prince, especially as the pontiff, Calixtus II., distressed by a schism, was induced to grant him a general confirmation of all the prerogatives, which his father had enjoyed in England and Normandy. They were still but the skirmishings, which preceded the fierce and deadly contest.

---

[49] Pascal II., in a letter addressed to Henry on this subject, contended 'that it was a monstrous thing for a son to beget his father, or for a man to make his God;' and that therefore, as priests in scripture are called fathers and gods, kings, who are but men and their sons, cannot give them investitures. A part of this absurdity however he had recently disregarded, when, in a decree of a council assembled at Rome, it was held to be a most execrable thing, 'that those hands, which had received such eminent power, above what had been granted to the angels themselves, as by their ministry to create God the creator of all, and offer up the same God, before the face of God the Father, for the redemption and salvation of the whole world, should descend to such ignominy, as to be put, in sign of subjection, into the hands of princes, which were daily and nightly polluted with obscenity, rapine, and blood.'—Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. pp. 104, 105.

Wales during these three reigns was in a most undefinable situation in regard to the crown of England[50]. The Conqueror, in maintenance of the claim of the Saxon monarchs[51], to whom he had succeeded, marched an army in the year 1080 to Saint David's, where he received the homage and tribute of the Welsh nation; but what were the relations then formed between that prince and his British neighbours, or whether William had leisure for forming any such relations, cannot now be discovered. In the next reign many private acquisitions of lands in Wales were made by the Norman nobles, tempted by the successful establishment of some of their number, who had been invited to take a part in the internal dissensions of that country. William Rufus himself, however, when he attempted the conquest of it in the year 1097, was compelled to retire with loss and disgrace. Such notwithstanding was the increase of Norman influence in Wales, that Henry exercised there all the prerogatives of a feudal sovereign, bestowing on his favourites the territories of Welsh lords, and even conferring on a Norman the bishopric of Saint David's. Yet this very prince, when in the year 1113 he had advanced against Griffith ap Conan prince of North Wales, and Owen prince of Powis, was not very successful, and seems to have been more indebted for his triumph to policy, than to military power. The independence of Wales indeed appears to have been regarded by the Norman barons as the strong-hold of their own security against the oppressions of the crown; the public efforts of the government for the reduction of that part of the island were therefore sure to be opposed and frustrated by the jealousy of the persons employed to conduct them; and it was but gradually by the enterprises, or by the matrimonial alliances, of private adventurers, that an English interest could be established within it, capable of affording a sufficient basis for the union, by which it was at length connected with the government of England.

---

[50] Spec. of Early Eng. Metr. Romances, vol. i. pp. 110, &c.

[51] There is no very distinct account in history of the precise time when the princes of Wales became tributaries to the kings of England; but it is sufficiently evident, that they were in this situation in the earlier part of the tenth century. By the laws of Howel Dha, or Howel *the good*, who succeeded to the government of South Wales and Powis-land in the year 907, and to that of North Wales in the year 939, the king of Aberfraw, or the chief king of Wales, is appointed to pay a fine of sixty-three pounds of silver to the king of London, when he receives his kingdom from his hand, and a certain number of dogs, hawks, and horses annually.—Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. iii. pp. 108, 109. Two years before the Norman invasion, the Welsh, who had provoked the English by repeated incursions, were subdued by Harold, who was then aspiring to the crown of England; and Edward, to whom they had yielded the regulation of their territory, distributed it among three of their own princes.—Ibid., pp. 150, 159.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the history of England, from the beginning of the reign of Stephen in the year 1135, *to that of the reign of Henry III., in the year* 1216.

Stephen king in the year 1135—Henry II. king, 1154—his extensive territories in France—Scutages established, 1159—Sale of charters to towns, 1167—Ireland invaded, 1170—Death of Thomas à Becket, and triumph of the papacy, 1172—Richard I., king, 1189—John king, 1199—All the French territory of the crown, except the duchy of Guienne, lost, 1203—Great Charter, 1215.

THE charter of Henry I. had acknowledged the rights claimed by his people, but these were yet very imperfectly understood[1] and it was necessary that new events should occur, and that a considerable portion of time should elapse, before they could be distinctly ascertained, and so guarded against future infringement, as to constitute a foundation of a free constitution. It is especially remarkable that the grand instrument, by which this more complete establishment of the principles of liberty was then effected, was the result of a usurpation of ecclesiastical power, which was extraneous to, and inconsistent with the government of the country.

---

[1] Hume has observed, that the very form of this charter of Henry proves, that the barons were totally ignorant of the nature of limited monarchy, and ill qualified to conduct, in conjunction with their sovereign, the machine of government. 'It is,' he adds, 'an act of his sole power, is the result of his free grace, implies several articles

If the lords had been of themselves sufficiently powerful, to wrest from John an acknowledgment of the rights of his subjects, they would have been too powerful to continue subordinate to his legitimate authority, for the same political strength, which had enabled them to reduce its exorbitances, would be yet more effectual to overpower it, when already limited and confined. The commons had not then acquired a distinct importance in the constitution, by which the aristocracy might be checked and restrained; and the lords, if able to reform the government, by controlling the king, could not have been hindered from drawing all authority to themselves. That the lords would have so acted, sufficiently appears from the oligarchy, which the earl of Leicester attempted to establish in the following reign; but it is so manifestly the tendency of human nature to press forward in the path of power, that no particular exemplification seems to be necessary. In this state of the government the external agency of ecclesiastical power was eminently beneficial, as it enabled the lords to effect an important revolution, which was beyond their proper strength, and which was therefore not liable to be urged too far by their ambition. It came in aid of the imperfect and unbalanced arrangement of the constitution for a special occasion, and ceased to operate when its agency would not have been longer convenient and useful.

The reign of Stephen afforded a most favourable opportunity for preparing yet more fully the instrument of this interposition. Henry, having left no son, had bequeathed

which bind others as well as himself, and is therefore unfit to be the deed of any one, who possesses not the whole legislative power, and who may not at pleasure revoke all his concessions.'—Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 347.

his dominions to his daughter Matilda, then married to Geoffrey, duke of Anjou, no mention being made of the duke her husband, from whom he had received some offence. Though, however, the nobles had sworn to maintain her succession, the absence of her friends, and the prevalent aversion from the acknowledgment of a female sovereign, strengthened by a revolt of the Welsh, which seemed to demand the exertions of a warlike prince, assisted the pretension of Stephen, a grandson of William the Conqueror, by his daughter Adela. Stephen, on this occasion, received important assistance from his brother, who was bishop of Winchester; and, in return, when, after his advancement, he conciliated the laity, by renewing the charter of his predecessor, he took care to attach the clergy also to his interest by various concessions[2], of which the chief was that, by which he committed to the bishops all jurisdiction over the persons and properties of ecclesiastics. He qualified indeed this momentous concession with a reservation of his just and royal dignity: but the clergy, probably apprehending that these words contained a secret invalidation of their new privilege, declared, in their oath of allegiance, that they would obey him only while he preserved the liberties of the church, and the vigour of discipline; and the pope, in a bull solicited by Stephen for confirming his election, had before expressly stated, that it was granted to him because he had promised obedience and reverence to Saint Peter on the day of his consecration.

Stephen was determined to free himself from the restrictions, to which he had been compelled to submit, and with this design very soon assembled an army of foreign mercenaries; but the embarrassments in which he was involved, not only by the claim of Matilda, but yet more by the imprudence of his own conduct, rendered all his efforts ineffectual. While he depended on his foreign troops for the exaltation of his prerogative[3], he permitted the barons to erect castles on their lands for the defence of the kingdom, and thus enabled them also to resist his own power; and to induce the nation to suffer him to retain his foreign troops, he lavished on the principal nobles the resources of the crown, and thus deprived himself of the means of maintaining them. The indiscreet unsteadiness of his character was also remarkably evinced in his conduct towards the clergy. Being jealous of two prelates[4], one of whom had extorted from the crown for himself, or for his family, all the most considerable offices, and both of whom had raised considerable fortifications, he assembled a great council at Oxford, where, availing himself of the pretext of a riot, which had occurred between their followers and those of one of the barons, he caused them to be arrested, and then seized their fortresses and treasures. This measure was, as might have been expected, resented violently by the clergy, so that the bishop of Winchester, who was invested with a legatine commission, found it necessary to convene a synod, and summon the king to answer before it for his conduct. The king did not appear, but he suffered the synod to meet, and sent some of his ministers to plead his cause; and, when he saw that the synod would espouse that of the bishops, he at once sacrificed his independence by appealing from its decision to the court of Rome.

---

[2] Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. pp. 170-174.

[3] Ibid., pp. 176, 177.

In one memorable instance, it must be admitted, Stephen acted with a salutary resolution[5]. The disputes which arose among the bishops, especially the contest about the legatine power between the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester, and the appeals carried to Rome for the determination of these contentions, gave occasion to an attempt to introduce into England the civil and canon laws, the latter of which was framed to support the pretensions of the papacy. A professor of these laws was accordingly, in the year 1148, invited from Italy by the archbishop of Canterbury, and delivered lectures under the protection of that prelate. Fortunately for the laws and liberties of these countries, the Roman pontiff had about that time abandoned Stephen, and the latter, about the year 1152, summoned fortitude sufficient to silence the professor. The clergy persisted in addicting themselves to the study of these laws, and in cherishing among themselves a reverence for the papal jurisprudence; but by the seasonable interposition of Stephen the public law of the country was, for that time[6], preserved from the dangerous inroad, with which it had been menaced.

---

[4] Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. p. 209.

[5] Ibid., pp. 390, 519, 520.

[6] The decretals of Gregory IX., which he had commanded to be

Four years after the advancement of Stephen, Matilda landed in England, to assert her claim to the throne, and the succeeding fourteen years of his reign were distracted by the contests, which he was forced to maintain, first with that princess, and then with her son Henry, by whom he was succeeded. The struggle might, indeed, have been speedily terminated in the success of Matilda, who was in the second year of the war placed on the throne by the influence of the clergy, if her imperious spirit[7] had not quickly offended her new subjects, and even the friends, to whom she was indebted for her elevation; the war was, however, on this account continued, until her son Henry was able to engage in the contest, and maintain his own pretension. A negociation was then opened, by which it was agreed that Stephen should continue to reign, and that he should be succeeded by Henry. This accommodation was most critically facilitated by the death of Eustace the son of Stephen, and was then secured by that of Stephen, which occurred in the following year.

The distractions which agitated the government of Stephen, afforded an opportunity for establishing those papal encroachments, which in the reign of John proved to be eventually beneficial to the liberties of England. If however the reign of this prince had been longer protracted, they must have operated to the dissolution and ruin of the state. The nobles[8] had erected castles in every part of the kingdom, and the whole country was ravaged by the violences, which thus protected they were able to commit; the war itself had been chiefly a conflict of turbulent men, neither party being much attached to its leader, or to the interest of the public; and a shocking depravation of the national morals was the natural consequence of so much

read and divulged throughout the whole world, were brought into England in the nineteenth year of the reign of Henry III.; but that king forbade them to be taught in the schools of London.—Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. p. 520. In the following year the barons at the parliament of Merton, when they were urged to adopt the canon law for legitimating children born before marriage, unanimously uttered the celebrated declaration, that they would not change the laws of England; and above a century afterwards the nobility declared that the realm of England hath never been and never should be, governed by the civil law.—Blackstone's Comm. Introd., sect. i.

[7] Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. p. 249.

[8] Ibid., pp. 229, 333, 381.

and so general disorder. The reign of Henry II. was, on the contrary, well fitted to remedy the mischiefs, which had accompanied the progress of ecclesiastical usurpation, though it eventually favoured the completion of that progress, and gave to the papacy its triumphant ascendency over the crown.

An extraordinary combination of circumstances had possessed this prince, before his accession to the English throne, of territories on the continent amounting to more than a third part of France[9]: the example and instruction of his uncle the earl of Gloucester[10], who was one of the most distinguished characters of his age, had formed to excellence of every kind the natural endowments of his heart and understanding: and a reign of thirty-five years allowed him an ample opportunity for exercising his high qualities in promoting the improvement and the happiness of his subjects, and in preparing the foundation of that united empire, which could be completed only in the long interval of six centuries. Such a reign could not be employed solely in arranging the domestic interests of the actual government, however difficult and embarrassing, but expanded its energies beyond their limits, over Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, which have since been successively connected with England in incorporating unions.

Henry II. began his reign with various measures, which were very directly conducive to the establishment of public order and tranquillity[11]. He immediately dismissed the foreign mercenaries, on whom his predecessor had placed his reliance; and then adopted effectual means for recovering to the crown that ascendency, which Stephen had vainly endeavoured to secure by their assistance. The donations, which that prince had made to the church, Henry could not venture to resume; but he procured the sanction of a parliament for the revocation of the grants, which had been lavished upon laymen. The castles, which Stephen had suffered his nobles to erect, to the number of eleven hundred and fifteen, were demolished, except a few, which were judged necessary to the defence of the kingdom. Robbery also and violence, which had universally prevailed, were rigorously suppressed[12], and a more systematic administration of justice was introduced, and exercised with vigilance and authority. He could not entirely abolish the trial by duel, which had gained credit amidst the feudal institutions of the Norman princes; but he laboured to extend the use of the Saxon trial by jury[13], allowing the defendant in a civil cause the option of this method of decision. The coin[14] also, which had been debased by his predecessor, was restored by this prince to its value.

---

[9] From his mother he possessed the duchy of Normandy; from his father the earldoms of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; and by his marriage with the divorced queen of France he acquired the duchy of Aquitaine, comprehending Guienne, Poitou, Xaintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and the Limousin. He afterwards, by the marriage of one of his sons, obtained possession of Brittany. He was also intrusted with the regency of Flanders, when the count and countess went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and, as their son espoused the heiress of Vermandois, that province likewise was submitted to his direction. [10] Malmesbury, who dedicated to this nobleman his treatise De Gestis Regum Anglorum, panegyrizes him as learned and liberal; f. 98: and John of Salisbury describes him as one, who should have been a king, but that he deserved by his virtue to be placed in an independent station, in *libertatis culmine*, from which he might behold kings in an inferior order.—Epist. Joan. Saresb. ad Wigorn. Episc. [11] Lord Lyttelton, vol. ii. pp. 7, &c.

---

[12] So great, says Hume, was the reputation of his government, in respect to the administration of justice, that Sanchez king of Navarre, having some disputes with Alfonso king of Castile, was contented, though Alfonso had married the daughter of Henry, to choose this prince as an arbitrator; and the sentence was such, as gave satisfaction to both parties.—Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 512. The same historian says, that he distributed England into four divisions, into which for the first time itinerant justices were sent to perform their circuits.—Ibid., vol. i. p. 493. Lord Lyttelton observes, vol. iii. p. 206, that the first mention of itinerant justices in the ancient chronicles is under the year 1176; but he adds, that Madox has shown, that there had been such justices in the eighteenth year of Henry I., who probably introduced them in imitation of Louis *the gross* of France. He thinks it probable however, that a new division of the kingdom into six circuits was made in the twenty-second year of Henry II., or the year 1176, and another into four in the twenty-ninth year of the king; and that the practice, which had been interrupted by the agitations of the preceding reign, was then renewed and confirmed. This agrees with the statement of Blackstone, who remarks that judges of assize were regularly established, if not first appointed, in the year 1176, but adds that they performed their circuits only once in seven years, until they were directed by the great charter to visit each county once in each year.—Comm., book iii., ch. 4. Lord Lyttelton, on the other hand, represents that, during a great part of the reign of Henry II., the circuits were performed yearly.—Hist. of Henry II., vol. iii. p. 208. But this does not agree with his former statement, which refers the beginning of the practice of circuits to the year 1176, from which time only thirteen years of his reign remained. [13] The trial by jury may be traced to the

The reign of Henry II. was particularly distinguished by one measure, which was of very great importance, not only as it added considerably to the vigour of the government, but more especially as it gave the first shock to the feudal institutions. This was the introduction of scutages[15], or pecuniary compensations for that personal service, which military vassals were bound to perform. The service of a feudal army was always very inconvenient, as it was undisciplined and intractable, and the time of attendance, which might be claimed by the lord, was limited to the short period of forty days. These inconveniences were greatly aggravated to those English monarchs, who possessed territories on both sides of the British channel; and therefore to them it became particularly desirable to introduce a system of commutation, which might enable them to provide a force more subject to their control, and more effective. To their subjects the expedient was so much more eligible than personal service, that it was readily adopted. The first trial of this measure was made indeed in a war, which was waged within the island[16], such a

earliest of the Saxon times, and seems to have been common to all the German nations.—Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iv. book v. ch. 9.

[14] Lord Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 79.

[15] Scutage was otherwise named escuage, from the French word *escu*, a shield, as the name scutage is derived from the Latin word *scutum*. The sum demanded by Henry for each knight's fee was three pounds; and the entire sum levied in England was one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, estimated by Henry, vol. v. p. 126, as equivalent to two millions seven hundred thousand pounds of modern money. This tax was at first levied by the royal authority; but, on account of the abuses of the practice, it was declared by the great charter, that scutages should be imposed only by the common council of the kingdom. Blackstone observes, that it became the parent of the ancient subsidies granted to the crown by parliament, and of the land-tax of later times.—Comm., book iv. ch. 33. Henry II. also availed himself of the popular zeal for the crusades to introduce the first tax on personal property.—Hume's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 513.

[16] Lord Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 186.—Perhaps the first example of the tax should rather be sought in the reign of William Rufus. 'That king, having gone over to Normandy to support his partisans, 'ordered an army of twenty thousand men to be levied in England,

commutation having been allowed to the spiritual barons in an expedition undertaken against the Welsh; but it was made general in the year 1159, when Henry engaged in a war for the support of a claim to the county of Toulouse in France, which he derived from his queen. This may therefore be considered as the epoch of the declension of the feudal government of England, which had been established nearly a century before by William the Conqueror. Its entire suppression was not completed in less than five centuries, the last remnant of it having been destroyed at the restoration, by the act of parliament, which abrogated military tenures.

Perhaps it is to this regulation, as to its primary cause, that we should attribute that grand and most important distinction, between the nobles of England and of France, by which those of the former country became but the first order of citizens, those of the latter a separate and privileged caste. In France, where the feudal service continued unchanged, an exemption from direct taxation was claimed by the nobles, and a line of separation was thereby drawn between them and the inferior orders; whereas in England, a system of taxation having been early introduced in its place, the nobles learned to feel a common interest in every thing with their fellow subjects.

In another respect also the government of this prince presents an epoch of constitutional improvement[17], as it is

---

'and to be conducted to the sea-coast, as if they were instantly to be 'embarked. Here Ralph Flambard, the king's minister, and the chief 'instrument of his extortions, exacted ten shillings a piece from them, 'in lieu of their service, and then dismissed them into their several 'counties.'—Hume's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 320. This seems, however, to have been disregarded by historians, as an irregular act of oppression. Lord Lyttelton also doubted, whether that was a scutage, which was levied in the Welsh war, it being entered upon the rolls under the name *donum*, and some who paid it, not holding by military tenures; also because the king did not go in person.—Notes to the second and third book of the Life of Henry II., p. 14. A parallel assessment in ancient ages may be found in the pecuniary contribution, paid by the confederate islanders to the Athenians, in commutation of the service of their ships, which conduced so much to the aggrandisement of the naval power of Athens.—Thucyd. de Bello Pelopon., lib. i. cap. 99.

[17] Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, ch. 11. Henry I. had already granted a charter to the city of Lon-

to the thirteenth year of his reign, or the year 1167, that the beginning of the practice of granting charters of incorporation to towns, on condition of receiving sums of money, has been referred. Louis *the gross* of France, who died in the year 1137, had however set the example of incorporating towns, which had been imitated by his nobles, and even before his reign corporate privileges had not been entirely unknown in England. At this time several of these communities were formed by Henry II., whose example was imitated by Richard I. and John; and thus a borough-interest was prepared, to furnish one part of the foundation of a popular legislature. For a trading country it was necessary that the towns should acquire a considerable share of importance in the government; and, though the representation of the counties has always been esteemed as the principal portion of the deputies of the people, yet it is probable that a separate assembly of the commons would never have existed, if a considerable borough-interest had not supplied a numerous class of members, with which the nobles would not deign to associate.

The reign of Henry II. might have formed a period of uninterrupted prosperity, if it could have been preserved from a struggle with the church. The aggrandisement of the clergy was however important to the subsequent improvement of the government, and Henry was doomed to be harassed in a contest with the most determined of the body. He had in the very beginning of his reign[18], with the design of reducing the exorbitant power of the ecclesiastics, placed two laymen in the commission of grand justiciary, instead of granting that office to a prelate, or at least associating a prelate with a layman[19]. With the same view he also made that other appointment of Becket to the primacy of England, which proved so fatal to his peace. This extraordinary man had conciliated the favour of Henry by the display of ability of every kind, in the

don, confirming the benefits granted by his father, with some very considerable additional favours; and in the reign of Stephen mention is made of the community of London, and of barons, who had long before been admitted into that body.—Lord Lyttelton, vol. i. pp. 101, 240. Both in France and in England municipal privileges existed before the reign of Louis *the gross*.—Ibid., vol. iv. p. 29.

[18] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 18.

[19] Ibid., pp. 137—140.

deliberations of the council and in the relaxations of social intercourse, in the intricacies of negociation and in the dangers of the field. He was therefore considered by the king as the only person, to whom he could with safety confide the important functions of the primacy; and he was even justified in this persuasion by the conduct, which Becket[20] had observed, while he held the office of chancellor.

The circumstances in which the power of the church encountered the monarchy of England, were very peculiar. The papacy, far from being at that time in a state of vigour and authority, was weakened by a schism, which had been begun about five years after the commencement of the reign of Henry, and about three before that of the primacy of Becket; and the pontiff, with whom the contest was maintained, was accordingly a refugee in the dominions of the French king, and dependent on Henry for the acknowledgment of his spiritual dignity. In such circumstances it might be supposed, that the contest would have proved easy to the English monarch, as the apprehension of alienating so considerable a prince would naturally render a pontiff fearful of giving him offence. They had indeed the effect of moderating the conduct of Alexander III., who had been received as the true pope by the two kings of France and England; but while Alexander wavered[21], Becket stood firm, and the spirit subsequently manifested by the principal, had evidently been communicated by the determination of the subordinate agent. The struggle of Henry was therefore with Becket, rather than with the pontiff. But it was not merely by the intrepidity of the

---

[20] 'When the bishop of Chichester upheld the spiritual supremacy of the pope, the king in Becket's presence declared the papal authority to be a thing conceded by men, and rebuked him for putting it in opposition to the king's authority, conceded by God. The people applauded the king's speech; and Becket sanctioned, if he did not prompt it, by reminding the bishop of his oath of fealty to his sovereign. Becket imposed on the clergy the tax of scutage, for the war of Toulouse, which his antagonist, the bishop of London, calls a sword that he had plunged into the bowels of his mother-church, and which the archbishop Theobald, expressly referring it to Becket, prohibited under pain of excommunication.'—Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 202.

[21] Berington's Hist. of Henry II., vol. i. pp. 223, 224. Dubl., 1790.

English primate, that the cause of the embarrassed and enfeebled papacy was thus critically sustained, the king of France, Louis VII., being most implicitly devoted to the church[22], of which he respected Becket as the meritorious champion. A massacre[23], which that prince had commanded many years before, has been supposed to have loaded his mind with a consciousness of guilt, and to have rendered him anxious to seek expiation in his attachment to the clergy. In this manner an English prelate and a French king maintained the struggle of the pontiff, while he was himself exiled from his see; and a powerful monarch was made to tremble for his royalty by persons acting in the name of the fugitive, who had been indebted to him for the acknowledgment of a disputed and precarious authority[24].

Becket, soon after he had been advanced to the primacy, attended a council assembled at Tours by Alexander, one of the principal objects of which appears to have been to provide for the independence of the church[25]. On his return he began the contest[26], by setting up several claims agreeably to one of the canons of the council. These proceedings determined Henry to commence at once his meditated reformation. The great grievance suffered from the clergy[27], consisted in that exemption from secular jurisdiction, which had been conceded to them in the preceding reign. This therefore Henry resolved immediately to endeavour to remove, and it had so happened, that Becket had recently protected from the civil power an ecclesiastic accused of enormous and complicated guilt[28]. The other bishops were disposed to submit; but the primate was inflexible, until the papal legate, apprehensive of a final rupture with Henry[29], prevailed with him to promise, that he would observe the ancient customs. These customs the king proceeded to ascertain, and for this purpose convened at Clarendon a general council of the nobles and prelates, which voted without opposition the sixteen articles, denominated from this meeting the constitutions of Clarendon[30]. But when Becket learned, as he had probably expected, that the Roman pontiff had refused his assent to regulations so hostile to ecclesiastical independence, he retracted his submission, and expressed the deepest sorrow for the weakness, with which he had been induced to yield.

---

[22] I am a king, said this prince to the English ambassadors, as well as the king of England; but I would not have deprived the lowest clerk in my kingdom, nor do I think that I have power to do it.—Lord Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 387.

[23] Of the inhabitants of Vitri, which he had caused to be perpetrated in the year 1143, that he might be revenged of the count of Champagne. To expiate the crime, the king had been persuaded by Saint Bernard to engage in a crusade.—Henault's Chron. Abridg., vol. i. p. 146.

[24] Lord Lyttelton, vol. ii. p. 112.

[25] Ibid., p. 345.

[26] Ibid., p. 346.

[27] Not fewer than a hundred murders had, since the king's accession, been perpetrated by ecclesiastics, who had never been called to account.—Hume, vol. i. pp. 427, 428.

[28] Of debauching the daughter of a gentleman, and murdering the father.—Ibid.

The king, unwilling to commit himself in a direct struggle with the clergy about their privileges, sought to ruin the obnoxious primate by a series of prosecutions on various claims of a pecuniary nature. To several of these he submitted[31]; but at the last a demand was urged, which

[29] The bishop of London told the cardinals, that the king would probably have receded from the Roman church, if the prelates had obeyed Becket's interdict; the English clergy reminded Becket that this might follow from his intemperance; and the pope himself hinted an apprehension of this nature.—Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 225, note 112.

[30] These constitutions anticipated much of the measures which were taken when the yoke of the church of Rome was thrown off at the reformation. "Not only did they provide that clerks accused of any crime should be tried in the king's courts; that all suits concerning advowsons and presentations should be determined according to the course of the common law; and that the clergy should no longer pretend to the right of enforcing payment of debts contracted by oath or promise, whereby they were drawing all questions of contract and property before their tribunals; but that all appeals in spiritual causes should be carried from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the primate, and *from the primate to the king*, without whose consent it should go no further; that no clergyman should leave the realm without the king's license; that, on a vacancy, the revenue of episcopal sees should belong to the crown; that the members of each chapter, or such of them as the king might please to summon, should sit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his consent; and that the bishop elect should do homage to the crown."—Lives of the Chancellors by Lord Campbell, vol. i. pp. 80, 81. Lond. 1845.

[31] Mr. Turner thinks that this should have been considered as an acquiescence in the constitutions of Clarendon, since he answered to a lay tribunal; but these charges related to his conduct in the office of chancellor.

he was utterly unable to satisfy, and he therefore determined to effect his escape from the kingdom. The support afforded to this champion of ecclesiastical independence by the king of France, the exile of all his relatives and dependents, the subsequent assassination of the prelate, and the humiliations to which Henry was induced to submit himself, by the dread of the papal censures for his supposed concern in the murder, and by the desire of procuring the protection of the papacy against the rebellion of his sons, compose the important history of this great struggle of the temporal and ecclesiastical authorities. In this struggle the death of the primate exalted him into a martyr and saint, and brought the kings of England and France to seek the favour of heaven at his tomb[32]. Such was the anxiety of Henry to procure the protection of the pontiff against his rebellious sons, that he acknowledged in express terms the feudal superiority of the see of Rome[33]. But it is deserving of attention that, however the clergy may have triumphed over the king[34], they did not triumph over the laws of the country, for the constitutions of Clarendon remained unrepealed[35], and were even, twelve years afterwards, confirmed by a parliament.

A history of this reign has been published by Mr. Berington, professedly to vindicate the character of Thomas à Becket from the misrepresentations of Lord Lyttelton; and this writer appears to have assigned satisfactory reasons for rejecting two documents[36], to which that nobleman had ascribed some importance. But the true question, in the consideration of this controversy, is whether the constitutions of Clarendon did fairly represent the ancient customs of the English nation. Mr. Berington contends that they could not have expressed those customs[37]; but from his own narrative it appears, that Becket was of a different opinion. When the papal legate urged him to promise to the king[38], that he would observe all the customs, which had prevailed in the days of preceding sovereigns, his answer was, that he would not engage to obey customs, which were manifestly adverse to the liberty of the church, to the privileges of the holy see, and to the law of God. When Henry declared that he should be satisfied, if Becket would do for him, as much as the greatest and holiest of the predecessors of the primate had done for the least of those, who before him had worn the crown[39], the answer of Becket was, that all his predecessors had in their days cut off some abuses, though not all, that he would not admit customs, which were adverse to the decrees of the holy fathers. In the conclusion of the contention also the papal commissioners were directed to exhort the king[40], to abolish the evil customs of his realm. In all these instances the claim of ecclesiastical dominion is open and undisguised. It is not insinuated that the genuine customs of England were favourable to the pretensions of Becket; but it is boldly maintained, that the ancient usages of the nation ought to give place to the encroachments of ecclesiastical supremacy. Doctor Lingard[41], while he contends that, by the laws of the Saxons, the bishop was, in criminal cases, the sole judge of the clergy, yet acknowledges that, as he sat with the sheriff in the court of the county, his ecclesiastical became blended with his secular jurisdiction, and many causes, which in other countries had been reserved to the secular judge, were decided in England before a mixed tribunal.

---

[32] Christ himself was desired, in one of the authorised liturgies, to save the souls of the supplicants by the blood of Becket. It was computed, that in one year more than a hundred thousand pilgrims offered their devotion at his tomb.—Lord Lyttelton, vol. iv. p. 348. Hume, vol. i. p. 461.

[33] Lord Lyttelton considers the expression as originating with the secretary, Peter of Blois; vol. iii. p. 115. The acknowledgment however was not much more abject than that, in which, blinded by the ambition of conquest, he had already acquiesced, almost in the commencement of his reign, when he received from pope Adrian a bull for sanctioning the invasion of Ireland.

[34] Mr. Turner has remarked that, notwithstanding this triumph, Henry practically established his power over his clergy, which he infers from the conduct of Henry towards the bishop of Durham after Becket's death. Thomas à Becket accordingly, he remarks, was the last of that description of ambitious clergymen, who endeavoured to raise the church above the throne.—Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 235, note 139; p. 237.

[35] Lord Lyttelton, vol. iii. p. 203.

[36] Hist. of Henry II. app. 2.

The age of Henry II. was distinguished by legislative improvement. Early in the twelfth century Warnier or Garnier, in Latin Irnerius[42], gave those lectures in the school of Bologna, which so powerfully attracted the attention of Europe to the study of the civil law of Rome; and in emulation of this code compilations of the canon and feudal laws were framed at Bologna and Milan, and the first treatise on the English law was composed in England. Nor were those other systems of legislation wholly rejected by the English, though the nation was justly jealous of its peculiar jurisprudence. The affairs of the clergy rendered the introduction of the canon law necessary for their arrangement; the feudal character of the government, as it had been modified since the conquest, gave occasion to the adoption of the principles of the feudal code; and the intrinsic excellence of the regulations of the civil law, in the adjudication of private property, disposed the judges, who were generally clergymen, and therefore acquainted with them, to observe them in the administration of justice, while the severity of that law, in punishing offences committed against the state, recommended it to the approbation of their sovereigns.

---

[37] Hist. of Henry II., vol. i. p. 173. [38] Ibid., p. 236. [39] Ibid., p. 257. [40] Ibid., p. 270. [41] Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 298.

[42] Hist. Litt. d'Italie, par Ginguenè, tome i. pp. 154—157. The Decreetum of Gratian, a Benedictine monk of Bologna, was published

Henry II. was succeeded by Richard I., who was, almost through his entire reign, a stranger to the country, which was the chief object of his government. Of the ten years, which he reigned, he passed only four months in England. A crusade employed him nearly three years; he was detained about fourteen months a prisoner in Germany in his return from Palestine; during the rest of his reign he was almost wholly engrossed by his contests with the king of France for his dominions in that country. The government however of this absentee sovereign was not destitute of influence variously exercised on that very country, from which he was so estranged. It exhausted the resources of the crown by those sales of the revenues and royal manors[43], to which he had recourse for defraying

---

in the year 1150; and a compilation of the feudal laws of Lombardy was published at Milan about the year 1170. The treatise on the English laws was written either by, or in the name of Ranulf de Glanville, chief justiciary of Henry II. Selden says of this treatise, 'as 'on the one side, I dare not be confident, that it is Glanville's, 'so I make little question, that it is as ancient as his time, if not his 'work.'—Nicholson's Engl. Hist. Library, p. 181. Lond. 1776.

[43] He declared that he would sell London itself, if he could find a purchaser.—Hume's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 6. For ten thousand

his military expenses; it aroused the attention of the people to the exactions levied by the monarch, on account of the magnitude of the sums, which he found it necessary to demand; and it excited among the nobles a spirit of independence, by withdrawing from them the controul of the royal presence, and thus disposing them to enter into associations for mutual support.

The last influence of the government of Richard became soon conspicuous in the reign of his successor, the first symptom of a regular association among the nobles appearing so early as in the second year of that reign, when the barons unanimously declared, that they would not attend John into France[44], unless he would engage to restore and preserve their privileges. A particular incident, which had occurred immediately in consequence of the absence of Richard, may even be considered as having suggested that association. The administration of the kingdom having been intrusted to the bishops of Durham and Ely[45], John, the brother of the king, eagerly availed himself of the discontent excited by the conduct of the latter, who engrossed the government, to summon him to appear before a general council of the nobles and prelates, thereby exhibiting the example of a combination, which was soon to prove fatal to his own power.

The personal character of Richard appears to have prevented the disturbances, which might else have accompanied these effects of his continued absence, for he was beloved by his subjects on account of the reputation, which his extraordinary and romantic valour procured for his country. Strengthened by their affection[46] he even ventured, in the latter part of his reign, to exclude the clergy from the protection of the law, when they had refused to contribute their portion of one of those assessments, which his necessities compelled him to demand. The character of Richard indeed probably influenced that of his people, introducing among them, particularly among his English subjects, a more romantic spirit of chivalry. Nor should it be for-

---

marcs he released the king of Scotland from the fealty and allegiance, which Henry II. had compelled him to swear.—Turner's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 305. [44] Hume, vol. ii. p. 46. [45] Rapin, vol. i. p. 249. [46] Hume, vol. ii. p. 38.

gotten, that the name of this prince is found in the series[47] of those, who cultivated the poetry of the south of France, and that he was a liberal protector of the genius of his brother-bards. We have even a juridical monument of this wild and irregular reign, in the laws of Oleron, the foundation of the maritime jurisprudence of modern Europe, and which are said to have been prepared by Richard himself in his travels, though we have not for this any very satisfactory authority.

The following reign has been rendered memorable by the solemn ratification of the liberties of England, and in all its occurrences and circumstances we discover tendencies to bring to their crisis the combinations, which have been noticed in the reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard. When the clergy had been prepared to insult and degrade the authority of the crown, when the nation had been, during a long and active reign, habituated to the restraints of a wise and vigorous government, and when the nobles had been abandoned to their own discretion during an inprovident, but a splendid and fascinating series of foreign enterprises, a reign of weakness and embarrassment was alone required for procuring a solemn authentication of those rights, for which the English had long been solicitous.

John began his reign amidst the difficulties of a defective title, his nephew Arthur, the son of his elder brother Geoffry, being the right heir of the throne: he was then engaged in a contest with the Roman pontiff concerning the election of an archbishop of Canterbury; and the cowardice with which he abandoned his continental territories to the king of France[48], the meanness with which he surrendered his crown of England to the see of Rome, and the general tyranny of his conduct towards his subjects, involved him in the greatest embarrassments. The personal character of John is conspicuous through all his difficulties, as a compound of cowardice, tyranny, sloth and imprudence, and therefore precisely fitted to provoke that general resistance, which established for succeeding ages the liberties of England. Innocent III., who was advanced to the papacy in the same year, in which John ascended the throne of England, was of an enterprising and aspiring genius, and, being only thirty-seven years old at the time of his elevation, possessed all the vigour necessary for the accomplishment of his favourite scheme, that of perfecting the temporal sovereignty of the Roman see: dying also in the same year with this prince, the year following the memorable year of the great charter, he was withdrawn at the same time from the stage of life, the existence of these two principal agents being closed as soon as the great crisis, to which they had in different ways co-operated, had been brought to its conclusion. The struggle too between John and his barons required an enterprising monarch of France, who should be ready to become the champion of the papal claims, though without such a bigoted attachment to the interests of Rome, as would have hindered him from prosecuting the designs of his own ambition, in direct opposition to its injunctions. Philip Augustus, who was contemporary with John, was precisely a prince of this description. He availed himself of the weakness and imprudence of John to deprive him of his continental territories, disregarding the prohibition of the pontiff; he was ready to be the champion of the church, when the support of the papal cause seemed to offer him an opportunity of adding to his acquisitions the kingdom of England; and afterwards, when John had sheltered himself under the papal protection, he was not less ready to maintain the cause of the revolted barons. Fortunately too for the interests of the English government, the selfishness of his policy became at last so manifest to the confederated barons, that the two parties had become balanced, when the seasonable death of John put an end to the struggle.

---

[47] Having been made count of Poitou in the year 1174, he had an opportunity of acquiring a taste for the poetry of Provence. The historian of the troubadours however has remarked, that he appears to have been inspired by anger rather than by love. Of the two poems of this prince, which have been preserved, one expresses the indignation which he felt during his confinement in Germany, the other reproaches the dauphin of Auvergne and his cousin, for not joining Richard against the king of France. The place of his captivity in Germany is said to have been discovered by a minstrel, who, having been informed that a person of distinction was imprisoned in a certain castle, sung a couplet of a song, which he had composed with Richard, and was answered by the king.—Hist. Litt. des Troubadours, tome i. p. 54, &c. This anecdote, Mr. Turner remarks, rests only on the authority of an old French chronicle, perhaps a prose romance, which Fauchet saw, and thence relates it in his Recueil, p. 92.—Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 334, note 110.

---

[48] Mr. Berington contends, that no idea of unworthiness could be annexed to this transaction, because acts of feudal submission were not infrequent among princes, and the conduct of John was sanctioned in this instance by his nobles.—Hist. of Henry II., vol. ii. pp. 182, 190. But, when the barons sought protection from the son of Philip, this very transaction was alleged as forming a part of the justification of their revolt.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 100. Doctor Lingard has produced from Rymer an authority, to prove that the barons had urged John to his submission, and supposed that they did so to humble his pride, as from that moment they began to demand a grant of their liberties.—Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 44. The pope, as this historian has remarked, justified his temporal pretension by the right of judging of sins, and of the obligation of oaths.—Ibid., p. 16, note. If his spiritual dominion be admitted, it would be difficult to refute the inference.

The principal agent, in obtaining the great charter, was an ecclesiastic, Stephen Langton, nominated by the pope to the see of Canterbury, in consequence of an appeal, which had been made to him in regard to a contested election, the king himself being one of the appellants. Langton, though an Englishman, had been educated in France, where he had taught in the university of Paris, and was thought to be a fit person for extending in England the papal authority, of which his own advancement was an enlargement. The appointment however proved eventually a curious counterpart to that of Becket, the one having as directly frustrated the design of the pontiff, as the other the plan of the king.

John yielded with extreme reluctance to the nomination of the pontiff, enforced as it was by a papal excommunication, and by the arms of France; and his resistance seems to have suggested to the new primate the scheme of securing the liberties of the church, by connecting them with the liberties of the nation. With this view he first obliged the king to swear, that he would renew the good laws of his predecessors, especially of Edward; he then produced to the barons[49] a copy of the charter of Henry I., which in an illiterate age had naturally fallen into oblivion; and he finally entered into a formal confederacy with them for the vindication of their violated rights. In this enterprise he was opposed by the papal power, which since the submission of the king had extended its protection to the royal cause; he however persevered with unshaken resolution, though he subjected himself to a sentence of suspension. He may, as an Englishman, have been also influenced by a patriotic concern for the welfare of his country[50]. He was certainly much offended by the proceedings of the papal legate, who had been empowered by the pope to fill the numerous vacancies, which had occurred in the English church during an interdict of six years. From this he learned that the liberties of his church were to be guarded, not less against the pontiff, than against the king.

---

[49] Hume has represented the barons as searching for this charter, and unable to discover more than a single copy.—History of England, vol. i. p. 346. The truth is that a copy had been deposited in each

The crisis therefore, which produced the great charter, though the original impulse was the remembrance of ancient liberty, was in all its parts the work of ecclesiastical interference. The crown was first dishonoured and degraded by the usurpation of papal dominion; the movement of the barons was prompted by the policy, the patriotism, or the indignation of the English primate; and the confederate army, which marched against the sovereign, assumed the appellation of the army of God and of the holy church. It was indeed effected in direct opposition to the papal authority, John having made his peace with the pontiff by his submission, by which it seems to have most fortunately happened, that ecclesiastical dominion was hindered from becoming incorporated with the original guaranty of the civil liberties of England. If the revolution had been directly accomplished by the papal interposition, it must be supposed that care would have been employed to insert in the great charter some stipulations, which would establish more securely the dominion of the papacy, and thus take from the religious as much as was added to the other liberties of the nation. As it was actually accomplished, though ecclesiastical influence was the

---

county, and that one of these was produced by Langton, not discovered by the barons.

[50] Berington's History of Henry II., vol. ii. p. 205. Hume, vol. ii. p. 87.

prevailing principle[51], yet the people was arrayed in opposition to the denunciations of Rome, and taught to disregard its menaces. So little however was the nation able to encounter the power of John, when thus supported, that it was judged expedient to offer the crown to the eldest son of the king of France[52], as connected by the mother of his wife with the royal family of England. Fortunately again for that country, when the jealousy, soon excited by the imprudent partiality of Louis towards his own countrymen, had already alienated the English nobles, the death of John, with the minority of his son Henry, removed their apprehensions of the tyranny of their own princes, and brought them back to the domestic succession of the crown.

The *great charter*, thus extorted from John in the memorable conference at Runnemede[53], consisted partly of provisions for protecting the clergy and the nobles, and partly of stipulations favourable to the common people, the design of which was to attach these to the support of the aristocracy. The former, which naturally constituted the grand objects of the confederates, have lost their importance, since the church has become intimately connected with the state, and the laws have ceased to bear a feudal character; those others on the contrary, when a lower order of men had gradually risen to political influence, and the feudal principles of the constitution had even been abrogated by a formal act of the legislature, have alone remained as operative articles, essentially comprising the liberties of these countries. Those popular stipulations were not however the mere suggestions of a present and temporary expediency, but the ancient principles of Saxon freedom, collected and recognised in the laws of Edward the Confessor. These continued to struggle against the feudal severities, by which the disorders of Saxon independence were repressed and controlled, and finally, in the grand revolution of the year

[51] Though the primate refused to publish the papal sentence of excommunication, he submitted quietly to his own suspension, and went to Rome.—Berington, vol. ii. p. 274. [52] Blanche of Castile, the wife of that prince, had descended by her mother from Henry II.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 100. [53] So named, says Matthew of Westminster, because it had been often the scene of public councils, the name signifying *the mead of council.*—Flores Hist. an. 1215.

1688, were registered by the bill of rights, as the unalienable privileges of a free people.

In the reign of John all the continental territories of the English crown, except the remote duchy of Guienne, were reduced by the king of France, various favourable circumstances having assisted the acquisition[54]. The counts of Flanders and Blois were engaged in a crusade; the count of Champagne was an infant, and under the guardianship of the French king; the people of Brittany, enraged at the murder of their prince Arthur, which was imputed to John his uncle, vigorously supported the enemy of this monarch; and the general defection of all his vassals rendered every enterprise undertaken against him easy and successful. So violent was the antipathy of the Normans to the French government, that nothing less than such a combination of circumstances could have disposed them to submission.

As the great continental possessions of Henry II. had enabled him to maintain that degree of ascendency, which was necessary for repressing the disorders engendered in the reign of Stephen, and the same possessions afterwards assisted in occasioning the continued absence of Richard from his English territories, which favoured the independence of the nobles, so when a compact had been solemnly concluded between the crown and the people, and the government was about to assume an orderly and combined arrangement of the several classes of the nation, these foreign possessions, subject to a different constitution, and furnishing to the prince very considerable resources, though at the same time distracting his attention, would have proved a very inconvenient and embarrassing appendage to the English monarchy. In this view therefore the weakness and misconduct of John, which permitted their final separation, appear to have had a further operation in favouring the cause of English liberty. While they provoked a combination of the nobles, by which it was asserted and maintained, they threw off an incumbrance, by which the efforts of that combination might have been grievously obstructed.

If we turn our thoughts to the influence, which the annexation of so considerable provinces to the crown of France exercised on the government of that country, in elevating the royal authority above the feudal aristocracy, among which it had been parcelled, we shall perceive this weak, yet tyrannical prince, the unintentional agent, at once of liberty in his own country, and in France, though not of a free constitution, a form of domestic policy incompatible with its circumstances, yet of an orderly and consistent arrangement of the powers of the state.

---

[54] Hume, vol. ii. p. 57.

The territorial connexion with France was not indeed at this time wholly relinquished. A small portion of the continental possessions of Henry II. was still retained in a distant part of that country, which served as a basis for the combinations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the history of England, from the beginning of the reign of Henry III., in the year 1216, *to that of the reign of Edward II., in the year* 1307.

Henry III. king in the year 1216—Counties represented in parliament, 1254—Usurpation of the earl of Leicester, 1264—his parliament, 1265—Edward I. king, 1272—Wales reduced, 1282—Boroughs represented in parliament, 1283.

The great charter, as Hume has remarked[1], did not contain any establishment of new courts, magistrates, or senates, nor any abolition of the old; it introduced no new distribution of the powers of the commonwealth, and no innovation in the political or public law of the kingdom. The time had not then come for improving the constitution of the government by such alterations; but there was much irregularity in the administration, which it was necessary to correct, and it was most important that principles should be established, which might serve as landmarks, to direct the nation in its progress towards the attainment of the public happiness.

It is natural that the importance of this celebrated instrument should be more highly appreciated by a writer living under a government, in which the want of such a charter had been experienced; and accordingly we find that Mably[2], in his Observations on the History of France, has borne the strongest testimony to its merits. The English, says he, then began to be considered as a mass[3], all the parts of which were important to the whole, while, in the other countries of Europe, the different orders of citizens, always hostile to each other, and not having yet discovered those secret connexions, which linked their particular interest to the general good, sought only to oppress and insult, and gloried in obtaining privileges, which were inconsistent, and which, tending only to separate their interests, were incapable of acquiring a permanent establishment. The cause of the difference of their subsequent conditions he has accordingly discovered in the difference of the great ordinances of the two countries, the French[4], having neglected to regulate with precision the general rights of the nation, and to render the oppression of an individual a matter of public concern.

---

[1] Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 147.

---

[2] Liv. v. ch. iv.

[3] It has been alleged, that the great charter regarded the interests of freemen, as alone deserving protection, and that slaves, who were still very numerous, were considered merely as a property, the fourth article enjoining that guardians should not *make destruction or waste of men or goods* on the lands of their wards. But by the twentieth article it was provided even for *villeins*, that they should not be excessively amerced, and that their fines should be determined by reputable persons of the neighbourhood, sworn to do justice.

[4] In the year 1355, or one hundred and forty years after the great charter of England, the states of France, being convened by the king to enable him to resist the English, availed themselves of the opportunity for procuring his assent to an ordinance for the reformation of the government. The plan of reformation consisted of twenty-four articles. Four of these related to the state of the coinage, three to practices analogous to purveyance in the English government, eight to the administration of justice, six to the regulation of the troops, one to the right of determining the public assessments, one to the limitation of warrens, and one forbade the officers of the royal household, or of judicature, or even of the lords, to be concerned in commerce. But in these articles we discover no anxious attention to the distinct rights of the several classes of society. It is not stipulated, as in the English charter, that the barons should allow to their vassals the same rights which were allowed to themselves by the sovereign; no provision is made for the rights of cities and boroughs; no encouragement is given to traders; no direct protection to the lower orders of freemen and to peasants: and though numerous regulations are made in regard to the administration of justice, yet we do not anywhere find the important principle, that every man should be tried by his peers. In the following year the states were again convened by the dauphin, the king having been taken prisoner by the enemy; and in

The political constitution of England remained to be developed. A common council of the realm is indeed mentioned in the great charter, and to it the imposition of the public assessments is there referred. The form of that council however does not appear to have been distinctly determined; and it should probably be considered as in a transition from the feudal parliament established at the conquest to a more mixed assemblage begun by Henry III., and completed by Edward I., which was itself afterwards to be divided into the distinct chambers of a modern parliament. Imperfect indeed were the beginnings of the free constitution of England, and little did they promise of that full maturity, which it afterwards attained; but, growing out of the changing condition of the country, not imposed upon it by the speculative interference of a legislator, it was naturally gradual in its formation, like those political changes, from which it drew its origin.

The friends of liberty have been anxious to prove[5], that at least the principle of representative legislation was coeval with the government of England, while the advocates of power have been not less desirous of showing, that this part of the constitution was much more recent, and even tainted with the guilt of the earl of Leicester, being devised by him for his support in his usurpation of the royal power. The minds of men are now however too well instructed in regard to the nature of political rights, to suffer

---

the year 1357 another ordinance was prepared for reforming the abuses of the government. This consisted of forty-seven articles; but, though so much more detailed than the former, it is not more explicit in the recognition of general rights. Imperfect as it was, it was never executed. The dauphin found means to conciliate the nobles, and to alarm the jealousy of the cities; all regard for the public good was alike forgotten by both parties in their mutual animosity; and this very crisis became, according to the observation of Mezeray, the epoch of the despotic power of the sovereign.—Hist. of the Anc. Parliaments of France by Boulainvilliers, vol. ii. letter 9.

[5] A history of this controversy is given in Tyrrell's Bibliotheca Politica, p. 8. Lond. 1718. It is stated to have been begun by Polydore Virgil, an Italian, who wrote the history of England in the sixteenth century.

themselves to be influenced by a consideration of the circumstances, or of the time, of an original, which is allowed to have been as ancient as the thirteenth century. They have accordingly ceased to feel any more solicitude about this other question of our political history, than about that of the conquest of the first of our Norman sovereigns; and the enquiry into the origin of the house of commons, though still a most interesting and curious speculation, is now reduced to the class of investigations of political antiquity. To a philosopher indeed, speculating on the formation of the most illustrious constitution which the world has ever witnessed, and yet more to a subject of this government, desirous of acquiring from a review of its history a practical knowledge of its nature, it is most interesting and important to inquire, how far this invaluable institution has been the work of personal contingencies, how far it has arisen from the general operation of political principles, necessarily, though gradually, effecting a considerable alteration in the structure of a social system.

Some writers have contended, that the moderns have no right to assume the merit of introducing popular representation into the combinations of politics, the ancients having furnished examples of all its varieties[6]. But, though elective assemblies of legislators may be found among the governments of antiquity, probably no instances can be discovered except in federative associations of states. The Amphyctionic council, the Achæan league, and the Lycian confederacy, were all of this description. The senate of Athens, on the other hand, was but a committee of annual officers, the legislative power still residing in the people collectively assembled. It seems indeed not to have occurred to the politicians of antiquity, that an elective legislature could be applicable to the circumstances of a single state. In a confederacy of several governments there was a manifest necessity of assembling deputies, who should manage the interests of their absent constituents. Thus far accordingly the ancients had proceeded, but the moderns appear to have an exclusive right to the credit of applying the principle of representation to the concerns of one nation. However simple and obvious such an expedient of policy may now be deemed, the republic of Rome was ruined chiefly by the want of this contrivance for reconciling the pretensions of the Italians with the stability of the state. Among the moderns it seems to have owed its existence to this peculiarity, that deputies were summoned for the single purpose of assenting to taxes.

---

[6] Doctor Gillies has maintained this opinion in his translation of the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, vol. ii. p. 64. Lond., 1797. But he appears to have overlooked the distinction between persons invested with magistracies, and the representative members of a public council. Aristotle speaks of meetings of magistrates, as of committees acting under the control of general assemblies.—Polit., lib. iv. cap. xiv.; lib. vi. cap. iv.

That the cities and towns should send deputies to the public councils was not peculiar to the feudal government of England, for they had in various countries begun to be incorporated about the same time, and to be consulted about relieving the public necessities. The institution exclusively characteristic of the English government is that of a house of commons, comprehending within it representatives of the less considerable proprietors of land, together with the deputies of the towns, and consequently combining within itself all the diversified interests of the nation, the agricultural not less than the manufacturing and the commercial. If the proprietors of land and the representatives of the towns had assembled in distinct houses, constituting two distinct members of the legislature, their contending interests would, as in Spain[7], have placed them in mutual opposition, and enabled the sovereign to triumph over both. But it was otherwise with a constitution, which divided the proprietors of land between the two houses, throwing the less considerable into a combination of interest with the representatives of traders, and thus precluding a collision, which could not fail to be ruinous to the liberty of all. The enquiry to be answered is, therefore, how it happened, that in England an assembly of the legislature was constituted of representatives so different, as the knights of the shires and the deputies of towns.

The late professor Millar of Glasgow has offered as a

[7] Robertson's Hist. of Charles V., book iii.

solution[8], that it resulted from this combination of circumstances, that the lesser barons declined in property and importance just at the time, when the towns began to be considerable, and that the sovereign at the same time possessed so much power, as enabled him to avail himself of the support of the representative part of the legislature to control the great barons, yet not so much as to be able to depress both by their mutual contention. This solution he has endeavoured to maintain by a comparison with the circumstances of the other feudal governments of Europe; and he appears to have been successful in showing, that a similar combination of circumstances did not elsewhere occur, but to have failed in not pointing out some principle of union, by which the two classes of representatives were amalgamated into one body, instead of giving their votes in separate benches, as in the diets of Germany. The alienation subsisting in those times, between any description of barons and the deputies of towns, must have been so strong, as to require some more efficient principle of combination for bringing them together, than a mere equality of political importance. It seems probable indeed that, in the peculiar circumstances of England, another and inferior class of proprietors of land was represented in parliament before the lesser barons, and that these reluctantly relinquished the privilege of attending in their own right.

The great council of the Anglo-Saxons, though constituted in a very popular manner, does not appear to have comprehended many representative members[9], the expression *infinita multitudo*, applied to these meetings by the old historians, warranting the opinion, that the allodial proprietors assembled in person, not by representation. The constitution of the national councils was changed by the conquest, the feudal government being then introduced in all that maturity, which it had shortly before attained in France; and these assemblies began to be composed of the military tenants of the crown together with the superior clergy. The number of the persons, who enjoyed the privilege of sitting in them, was in consequence of this alteration considerably reduced, the military tenants, who held immediately of the crown, not being quite seven hundred. An important part of the Saxon government however still remained in the county-courts[10], and the combination of this remnant of popular administration of public concerns with the feudal government introduced by the Conqueror, seems to have been the true, though remote origin, of the representative part of the English legislature.

---

[8] Millar's Histor. View of the English Gov., book ii. ch. vi. sect. 1.

[9] Ibid., vol. i. ch. vii., and ch. xv., note 34.

The influence of the county-courts on the feudal government of England was manifested even from its commencement, knights elected in these courts having been even from the conquest employed, either to make reports to the sovereign on the ancient laws of the country, or the grievances of the people, or to collect the taxes under the inspection of the itinerant judges[11]. These were not members of parliament; but the transition was easy and obvious by which they were introduced into the great council, as invested with the power of granting money, and of petitioning for redress. That the representation of counties had this beginning, instead of arising from a distinction in the mode of summoning the lesser barons, as directed in the great charter, appears from this, that a writ for summoning representatives of counties two years before that charter was granted[12], is still extant. It does not indeed appear from the writ, whether the representatives were to be elected by the counties, or nominated by the sheriffs, and therefore the commencement of the practice of electing representatives has been referred to a later year; but any appointment of representatives, however originally made, is sufficient to indicate its origin. It moreover appears that the lesser barons clung to the practice of attending the great council in their own right, until Henry III.[13], eleven years after representatives of counties had been formally introduced into the parliament, procured a law to be enacted, which prohibited the attendance of every baron not particularly summoned. This law indeed threw the lesser baronage into the class of the commons, especially when Edward I.[14] had confined the title of baron to those, whom the king should have summoned to the parliament. By these regulations the constitution received various and important improvements. A considerable portion of the property of the country was added to that of the commons; the lords were disencumbered of the presence of those, who were much their inferiors in individual importance; and the crown acquired the prerogative of determining who of the laity should constitute the personal, as distinguished from the representative order, of the legislature.

---

[10] 'Perhaps,' says Hume, 'this institution of county-courts in England has had greater effect on the government, than has yet been distinctly pointed out by historians, or traced by antiquaries.'—Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 127, note.

[11] William the Conqueror, when he resolved to ratify the statutes of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, ordered twelve 'noble and sage men' to be chosen in each county, who should meet in his presence, and determine what were the real laws of the kingdom: the great charter directs, that twelve knights should be elected in the next court of each county, to enquire into the 'evil customs of sheriffs, of forests and foresters, of warrens and warreners, and of the wardens of banks and their officers:' Henry III. in his seventh year ordered every sheriff to enquire, by means of twelve lawful and discreet knights, what were the rights and liberties of the crown in his shire; in his forty-second year he appointed four knights in each county, to enquire into all the excesses, transgressions, and injuries, committed by judges, sheriffs, bailiffs, and all other persons, and to make their report to him in council on a certain day:' and in the year 1220 the sheriff was appointed the collector of a subsidy, in conjunction with two knights to be chosen in a full court of the county with the consent of all the suitors.—Lingard's Hist. of Engl., vol. iii. pp. 221, 222.

These considerations may furnish the solution of the question concerning the time[15], when the elective franchise was extended from the lesser barons to the rear-vassals, or those who held lands of the nobility, by showing that the question is founded on an erroneous conception of the origin of the representation of counties. If that representation were originally the representation of the lesser barons, as has been commonly supposed, such a question might properly be asked, because it would in the beginning have been of a feudal character; but, taking its commencement from the county-courts derived from the Saxons, it had no concern with the distinction subsisting between different descriptions of vassals, and therefore could not have required that any such regulation should ever have been made. In Scotland, on the contrary, which had no period analogous to that of the Saxon government of England, the parliament was feudal, and the rear-vassals were not at any time admitted to vote in elections of representatives.

---

[12] Lingard's Hist. of Engl., vol. iii. pp. 223, 224.

[13] Camden gives this statement from an ancient manuscript now lost.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 280.

[14] Parliamentary History, vol. i. p. 6. Lond. 1762, 1763.

[15] Hume has concluded that it was the result of an act of parliament passed in the reign of Henry IV.; but professor Millar of Glasgow has remarked, that this statute supposes the practice to have already prevailed, and only regulates the elections.—Hist. View of the Eng. Gov., vol. ii. p. 248.

Among the principles of improvement in the English government, the extraordinary harmony has been noticed, which prevailed between the nobles and the commons[16]. In the other nations of Europe the dissensions of the two orders have been the chief causes of the destruction of liberty. The commons of England, on the other hand, had, from the earliest times, more political importance than those of other countries, nor were they separated by any insuperable barrier from the order of nobles, since by the acquisition of property of a certain value, a commoner became entitled to rank as a thane. The two orders were therefore by their ancient arrangement accustomed to regard their interests as connected together, and, when it had become necessary to struggle with the royal power, were well disposed to afford reciprocal support. Nothing accordingly in the great charter is so characteristic of the English people, as that it stipulates for the protection of every class of the community. This kindly influence of political sympathy, though it could not wholly suppress the contending jealousies of the two orders of the state. yet moderated them in such a manner, that through many centuries they continued to act together without any violent collision; nor did such a collision occur, until the great revolution of religion, in the sixteenth century, had introduced from another origin a new principle of political action.

The period reviewed in the present chapter comprises the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I., of whom the former appears to have first introduced the representation of the counties, the latter, with the exception of the irregular precedent of the earl of Leicester in the preceding reign, to have first summoned to the parliament the deputies of boroughs. Thus these two princes performed each one part of the same great work, which gave existence to the representative portion of the legislature; and yet in the whole series of the English history it would be difficult to discover two princes more directly and strikingly contrasted. Henry, incapable of conducting the government, became unavoidably the slave of successive favourites, and an oppressor through the very imbecility of his nature: Edward, politic and vigorous, but too desirous of power to regard much the rights of his subjects, was a patriotic sovereign, because he had sufficient wisdom to see, that the people had learned to consider themselves with respect, and because his foreign enterprises could be prosecuted only with their assistance. But, contrasted as they were, their characters, each in its own turn and order, were most conducive to the improvement of the liberty of England, the weakness of Henry provoking that continued resistance, by which the great charter of his predecessor was effectually secured and established, and the vigorous policy of Edward completing a system of freedom, which had become necessary to the enterprises of his ambition.

---

[16] Bishop Elly's Tracts on the Liberty Spiritual and Temporal of the Subjects in England, part ii. tract 3. Lond. 1765.

Had the reigns of these two princes been transposed, how different might have been the result! If Henry had possessed the ability of his son Edward[17], it is not improbable that, in so long a reign, the charter obtained at Runnemede might have become entirely obsolete. Scarcely had that charter been conceded, when it was annulled by the pope, and the people, driven to despair, invited the son of the king of France to take possession of the throne. Whether the people had been successful, or had failed, in this violent measure, their liberty would probably have been equally destroyed; but the critically fortunate death of John opened their eyes to the dangers of their enterprise, and they eagerly attached themselves to the child, who succeeded to his rights. In the moment of returning loyalty the protector, Pembroke, found it easy to secure their allegiance by a charter, in which the important clause, stipulating that the public supplies should be regulated by the great council, was reserved for future deliberation[18]; and, if the advantage, thus gained to the crown, had been maintained and improved through a long reign by the ability of Edward, the prerogative would have been strengthened by a continued prescription, and it might since have been a subject of regret to the students of English history, that liberty had been so fatally stifled in its birth. But the great Arbiter of human affairs disposed the succession in a different and more auspicious order. Edward did not ascend the throne until the charter had been repeatedly confirmed, after several unsuccessful attempts to effect its abrogation; and he had himself an opportunity of seeing before his accession how deeply it was imprinted in the hearts of the nation. That this preparation was most important to the security of freedom, will be perceived when it shall have been considered that the aversion, with which he regarded the charter, was notwithstanding frequently apparent; and that, though he confirmed it, and even restored the clause withheld by earl Pembroke, he was yet by no means scrupulous in adhering to its stipulations.

---

[17] For these observations on the influence of the characters of Henry III. and Edward I., the author is indebted to the lectures of the late doctor Dabzac, formerly professor of history in the University of Dublin, with the manuscript of which he has been favoured. These, eight in number, were employed in vindicating the constitution from the imputation of having been the work of successful rebellion, and in collecting evidences to prove, that its principles are of ancient inheritance.

Fortunately for the country, the weakness of Henry was not permitted to produce its effects in the very commencement of his reign, when the distractions, with which that of John had been closed, had reduced the government almost to dissolution. As Henry was but nine years old at his accession, the direction of affairs was necessarily intrusted to a regent; and it happened that the earl of Pembroke, a man distinguished by virtue and ability, was then in such a station, as mareschal of England, that he became naturally the depository of the royal power. The earl however lived but to restore the public tranquillity, and then left the kingdom to those renewed contentions, which favoured the introduction of the representatives of the people into the parliament.

---

[18] Quia quædam capitula in priore charta continebantur, quæ gravia et dubitabilia videbantur, scilicet de scutagiis. . . . placuit supradictis prælatis et magnatibus ea esse in respectu, quousque plenius consilium habuerimus.—Mag. Chart., 1 Hen. III., cap. 61.

After twelve years of discontent and turbulence, in which the barons had induced the feeble monarch to dismiss an able and patriotic minister, Hubert de Burgh, the reins of government were held by the bishop of Winchester[19], a Poitevin by birth, whose illegal administration had been a cause of that combination of the barons, which extorted from the crown the great charter of English liberty. This man was well fitted to provoke the struggles, by which the remainder of the reign of Henry was so much agitated. His arbitrary maxims irritated the people, and his attachment to foreigners, great numbers of whom he brought into the service of the king, as more faithful agents of his schemes of power, still more exasperated their resentment. His violent administration was indeed soon brought to a period; but the attachment to foreigners, which the king had learned from him to entertain, continued to insult the feelings of the English. By other occurrences this offensive conduct was afterwards aggravated. The marriage of Henry with the daughter of the count of Provence gave occasion to the arrival of a considerable number of strangers of that country, on whom the treasures of the crown were lavished; and these were followed by a new set of strangers from Gascony, in which country his mother had been married to a second husband.

Nor were the foreign relations of this reign less auspicious to the cause of liberty than this domestic discontent. The feeble and unsuccessful exertions, which the king made in the beginning of his reign, for the protection or augmentation of his continental dominions, exposed his weakness, and added to his pecuniary embarrassments: the oppressive exactions of the court of Rome on the other hand[20], by which it endeavoured to render its supremacy productive, impoverished and incensed the nation; and the extortions practised by that court, under the pretence of the chimerical project of the conquest of Naples[21], completed the disgrace of Henry, and the indignation of his people. But among the foreign circumstances, which favoured the improvement of the English government, it must be particularly noticed, that, when England was distracted by the usurpation of the earl of Leicester, France was governed by Louis IX., who, instead of taking advantage of the disturbances of the neighbouring country, agreeably to the ordinary notion of political wisdom, laboured with the most disinterested benevolence to reconcile the claims of the contending parties[22].

---

[19] He had been associated with Hubert de Burgh, but the latter then chiefly directed the administration, Hume, vol. ii. p. 159.

[20] Some of these are strongly stated in a letter of complaint, addressed to the pope in the year 1246, by the king, the prelates, and the barons.—Henry, vol. viii. p. 17.

The struggle between Henry and his barons began in the year 1244, or in the twenty-eighth of his reign, to approach towards its crisis, these having in that year formed a plan[23], for depriving the king of the management of affairs, and intrusting it to four of their own order chosen by themselves. This plan was then frustrated by the sudden dissolution of the parliament. It was however resumed in the year 1258, when the parliament committed to the earl of Leicester and twenty-three other barons an unlimited power of reforming the government[24]. After the battle of Lewes, fought in the year 1264, the earl proceeded yet further in his scheme of usurpation, the administration being granted to himself and two others[25], one of whom, the bishop of Chichester, was wholly subject to his control. Ten years before this success of the disaffected barons, a parliament was convened, in which, for the first time, we notice the attendance of representatives of the counties[26]. Their introduction seems manifestly the result of this great struggle of the sovereign and the barons, and to have been prompted by the hope, that an assembly so constituted might be found more disposed to grant a subsidy for the relief of the necessities of the king. The hope was disappointed, for no money was granted; but from that time a precedent was established, which after ten years was regularly followed in the practice of the government. An experiment which had failed to procure a supply, was not repeated in a period of public agitation.

---

[21] The Roman pontiff, in prosecution of his hostility to the family of the emperor Frederic II., made a tender of the crown of Sicily to Richard, brother to Henry III. The offer, declined by Richard, was afterwards accepted by the king for his second son Edmund. [22] His determination proposed to annul the provisions of Oxford, which had been framed by the barons, as being not only extorted and unconstitutional, but also in their own nature temporary; and at the same time to confirm the royal charters.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 210.

[23] Henry, vol. vii. p. 16. [24] This was afterwards named *the mad parliament*, from experience of the confusion attending its measures, the provisions of Oxford.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 191. [25] Henry, vol. vii. p. 41. [26] Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 55. The twelve knights, which John consented to summon from each county, that they

In the contention of the king and the nobles the two parties were supported by their respective allies, besides the strength which they possessed among their domestic adherents. The king indeed had little domestic strength, until he acquired it from the misconduct of his antagonist; but in the mean time he was assisted by the papal authority, which was vigorously exerted in his favour. The other party however, though opposed by the papacy, was not at variance with the ecclesiastics of England, but on the contrary received from them the most strenuous support; and it is observable that in this contest, in which was made the first direct appeal to the commons, was also commenced the separation of the ecclesiastical establishment from the see of Rome, so that the spiritual and temporal liberty of the people proceeded together[27]. The Roman pontiff had become dissatisfied with the barons, who to gain the favour of the people and the clergy, had expelled all the Italian ecclesiastics, and seemed determined to maintain the liberties of the English church. He there-

might report the grievances to be redressed according to the Great Charter, afford a proof, as Hume has remarked, that there was then no representative body, which could furnish such a report. M. Paris has characterised a parliament, convened in the year 1246, as *generalissimum*, being composed of prelates, earls, and barons.—Ibid., p. 46. Even the precedent established in the year 1254 was not imitated in the ten following years, in which time four parliaments were assembled.

[27] M. Paris tells us, that in this reign the reverence entertained for the papacy, was much diminished by the oppressions, which were particularly exercised upon the English.—Hist. Mag. p. 512. Lond., 1640. Robert Grossetete, bishop of Lincoln, when he found that the bulls, received from Rome, commanded any thing contrary to the precepts of the Gospel, and the interests of religion, tore them in pieces instead of putting them in execution.—Henry, vol. viii. p. 10. A great part of the popularity of the earl of Leicester was founded on his opposition to Rome.—Hume, vol. ii. p. 220.

fore gave his protection to the sovereign, that he might restrain the inconvenient spirit of independence, which actuated his subjects; and he even refused his assent to constitutions[28], similar to those pretensions, for which Becket had contended, lest he should thereby aggrandise a church, of which he was beginning to be jealous. The earl of Leicester, on the other hand, possessed an hereditary claim to the confidence and attachment of the clergy, being a son of that Simon de Montfort, who had conducted a crusade against the heretics of the south of France[29]; and so successfully did he assume and maintain the appearance of devotion, that, though he had been excommunicated by the pope, he was after his death believed to be a saint, and many miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb. But this was a part of his domestic strength, and he also had, like the king a foreign ally. Llewellyn[30], prince of Wales, anxious to deliver his country from the ambiguous dependence, in which it was held by the English government, and therefore well pleased to inflame the civil dissensions, by which that government was weakened, entered into a confederacy with the earl of Leicester, and invaded England with an army of thirty thousand men, the appointed signal of the insurrection of the barons.

Though the conduct of the twenty-four barons, which was manifestly directed to the establishment of their own power on the ruins of royalty, had transferred to Henry much of the favour of the people, he was still unable to cope with the party of the earl of Leicester, strengthened by the forces of Wales. He was indeed compelled to take the field after some vain attempt to negotiate, but the battle of Lewes, fought in the year 1264, placed him at the mercy of his antagonist. This success however, as it gave occasion to even greater excesses of usurpation, served to dispose the people yet more to return to their former loyalty, and the earl, becoming alarmed at the increasing alienation of the public sentiment, judged it expedient to endeavour to gain popularity, by convening a parliament of a more popular construction than appears to have been previously thought necessary to the government of the country.

[28] Hume, vol. ii. p. 201. [29] Ibid., p. 188. [30] Ibid., pp., 205, 206.

Every shire[31], in the following year, was ordered to send two knights, every city two citizens, and every borough two burgesses, to represent them in parliament. This was the first occasion, on which representatives of cities and boroughs were introduced into the public councils; and therefore, but that the instance must be rejected on account of the irregularity of the power exercised by the earl of Leicester, this should be the epoch of the entire formation of their representative portion. Nor was the precedent immediately followed. Within a few months the earl perished at the battle of Evesham; the royalists became from that time decidedly superior to their adversaries; and nothing remained of the usurpation except its influence on the memories of the two parties. That influence however appears to have been beneficial. The adversaries of the crown had been taught to dread the excesses of popular innovation, and the king and his son prince Edward[32], sensible that the barons of their own party were not less jealous of their independence, than their antagonists, perceived the necessity of conducting the government with a more scrupulous attention to the rights of their subjects.

Henry held the government seven years after the battle of Evesham, and was then succeeded by his son Edward, who had already established himself in the confidence of the people by a display of vigour united with moderation. The reign of the new sovereign, though of a character extremely different from that of his predecessor, was, as has been already intimated, most favourable to the temperate progress of that spirit of freedom, which had been so much encouraged by the weakness of Henry. While his great qualities imposed a salutary restraint on the ambition of the barons, his enterprising disposition, by engaging him in difficult pursuits of conquest, constrained him to make concessions to the constitutional claims of his subjects; and such was the respect commanded by the general dignity of his character, that he could yield to those claims without impairing his own estimation, or the majesty of his crown. The wishes of the people were gratified, not by the weakness, but by the ambition of the sovereign. Foreign conquest had captivated his mind, and he was content to concede domestic liberty, as the price of his success.

---

[31] Parl. Hist., vol. i. p. 71.

[32] Hume, vol. ii. p. 228.

The first of the enterprises of Edward was the reduction of the principality of Wales. That territory had borne the same relation to the earlier agitations of the English government, which Scotland afterwards bore to those of a later period. As its utility in this respect ceased with the former, it was equally seasonable, as natural, that the settlement of those agitations should react upon the country, which had been so active in maintaining them, and reduce it to an unequivocal dependence. Edward accordingly invaded Wales about four years after his accession[33], when the same intestine divisions, which had before enfeebled England, were destroying the power of the principality, and even distracting the family of the prince. The prudence of Edward gained a speedy and bloodless victory over Llewellyn by the sure operation of famine; the submission of the Welsh was followed by the oppressions of the English, and by a consequent insurrection of the vanquished people; and a complete and final conquest was effected at the close of the year 1282, though the union of the two countries was not accomplished[34], by the extension of the laws of England to the principality until the year 1534.

It was on occasion of this conquest, that Edward, in the following year, first assembled a parliament[35], agreeably to that model, which had been devised by the earl of Leicester, but had been afterwards neglected. The year 1283 should therefore be considered as the epoch of the regular completion of the representative part of our constitution, though the representatives[36] of cities and boroughs were not again summoned to parliament until the year 1295, when Edward, already engaged in a French war, was apprehensive of a Scotish invasion, and actually embarrassed by a rebellion of the Welsh.

---

[33] Hume, vol. ii. p. 250.

[34] Perhaps in strictness it might be said, that the union was not completed until the twentieth year of the reign of George II., as it was only then enacted, that all statutes should extend to Wales, whether specially included, or not. This was done by a clause inserted in a window-tax act.—Barrington on the Statutes, p. 160.

[35] The cities and boroughs then represented were twenty-one.—Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 86. Upon the settled establishment of representation, in the year 1295, the boroughs are said to have amounted to about a hundred and twenty, besides those of Wales, which are supposed to have been about twelve.—Hist. View of Engl. Gov., vol. ii. p. 220. The professor has noticed a curious misrepresentation in the history of Hume. The historian has alleged that the sheriff of each county had anciently a discretionary power of omitting particular boroughs in his returns, and was not deprived of this power until the reign of Richard II., in proof of which assertion he refers to 5 Richard II., ch. iv.; whereas that statute proves the contrary, as it directs that the sheriff shall, for such an omission, be punished 'in the manner as was accustomed to be done in the said case in times past.'—Ibid., p. 221.

Though this prince was, in the former instance, desirous of procuring the assistance of the whole body of the commons for defraying the expenses of the war, as well as for authorising the execution of the Welsh chieftain, he was not then sufficiently dependent on them, to be induced to shackle his own power, by restoring to the people their control over the public expenditure. To this he could be compelled only by the pressure of some very urgent difficulties; and if the peace, which succeeded the conquest of Wales, had been continued to the termination of his reign, he would probably never have given to the people that confirmation of the great charter nearly in its original form, which secured to them their most valuable right, and rendered the popular construction of the parliament important to the public liberty. His ambition, however, tempted by that, which appeared a most favourable opportunity, provided in due time the embarrassments, which constrained him to establish this great principle of the constitution.

In the year 1290 he was induced to conceive the first scheme of a union of the two crowns of England and Scotland, that of the latter kingdom having devolved to an infant female, between whom and his son he accordingly proposed to conclude a marriage. This project was speedily defeated by the death of the young queen; but it served to inflame the avidity, which had seemed to be so near to its gratification. The distractions, which followed in Scotland, appeared to present another opportunity of attaining the same object, though in a different manner[37].

---

[36] Hume has overlooked the parliament of the year 1283, together with that other of the year 1254, and represented this one, of the year 1295, as that in which popular government truly commenced.

[37] He had previously arbitrated with credit between the kings of France, Aragon, and Sicily, in a contention which had arisen out of the seizure of Sicily by the king of Aragon.

Having been chosen arbitrator of the claims of the candidates[38], who aspired to the vacant throne, he began with obliging them to acknowledge his feudal superiority[39]; he then adjudged the succession to Baliol, whom he proceeded to bind to the strictest vassalage; and finally, in the year 1296, when the Scots had refused to acknowledge the dependence of their crown, waged war to gain possession of it for himself[40]. An accidental quarrel among sailors having about this time grown into a war between England and France, an alliance was formed between the latter country and Scotland, and Edward found himself engaged in a struggle with a powerful confederacy.

It had been admitted by John at Runnemede, that no tax, except in certain feudal cases, should be levied without the consent of the great council of the nation. The stipulation was, at the accession of Henry III., reserved for consideration, and then entirely omitted[41]; but it was at this time formally ratified by Edward, such taxes only being excepted as had become customary. The war with the two combined nations having been begun in the year 1296, the great charter was in this completed form confirmed in the year 1297, and afterwards in the years 1299, 1300, and 1301[42], new devices being employed on each successive occasion for rendering it more public and more sacred.

---

[38] Of thirteen claimants, one derived his right from an usurper, six from illegitimate children of the royal family, one, the king of Norway, claimed as the heir of his daughter the late queen, and two from a sister of a former monarch. The competition lay among the descendants of a brother of that former monarch, and of these between Baliol the great-grandson by the eldest daughter, and Bruce, the grandson by the second.

[39] It appears to have been proved by doctor Lingard, that the Scotish kings had been repeatedly compelled to own themselves the vassals of the English crown for their kingdom, and not, as has been urged, merely for lands in England. But, since this homage was relinquished by Richard I., Edward appears to have acted without right. Dr. Lingard refers the relinquishment only to the last act of homage performed to Henry II.—Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 275, note 31.

[40] Hume, vol. ii. p. 271.

[41] In the petition of right presented to Charles I., a statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, which is referred to the thirty-fourth year of this prince, was pleaded by the lords and commons; and, as the king gave his assent to the petition, it must be considered as having since that time the authority of law. But Blackstone has assigned decisive reasons to prove, that it cannot be placed so late in the reign of Edward; and has shown it to be most probably a Latin abstract, and not an exact one, of this confirmation of the charters, passed in the twenty-fifth year of the same reign, the original of which is in old French.

Though the Scotish, like the Welsh war, was eventually favourable to the development of the English constitution, its direct consequence was very different from that of the other enterprise, Wales having been effectually reduced to obedience, whereas the war of Scotland was the origin of a lasting alienation[43]. Before the ambitious project of this prince the greatest harmony had subsisted between the two kingdoms. Alexander II. of Scotland had, in the year 1221, espoused a sister of Henry III. of England; and his son and successor Alexander III. married also, in the year 1251, a daughter of the same prince. In consequence of these alliances a very friendly intercourse prevailed between the two courts; the Scotish monarchs visited England[44], and a considerable body of Scotish troops supported Henry against the barons in the unfortunate battle of Lewes. If Edward, when the disposal of the crown of Scotland was submitted to his arbitration, had acted with the fairness, which seems to have been expected, a powerful English interest might then have been established in Scotland, and some fortunate occasion might soon have given being to such a union, as had been prevented by the death of the young queen. The eager and violent ambition of Edward, on the contrary, converted all the advantages of such an opportunity into an occasion of alienation, resentment, and hatred, and threw off for three centuries from the English connexion a country, which had recently consented to an arrangement, directly tending to bring the two countries under a common sovereign. The influence of the distinctness of Wales had ceased to be important; that of the distinctness of Scotland appears to have been reserved for the seventeenth century.

The clergy have been described as much alienated from the see of Rome by the oppressiveness of its exactions; it remained that they should be so restrained, as not to become independent of the state, and this was the care both of Henry and of Edward. For maintaining the number of knight's-fees, and preserving to superiors the profits of the feudal tenures, an ordinance of *mortmain*[45] was issued in the ninth year of Henry III., or one forbidding the acquisition of lands to a body, by which they could not afterwards be alienated. This, which had been limited to religious houses, was extended to the secular clergy by a statute enacted in the seventh year of Edward I. The latter prince also contrived means to force the clergy to furnish the supplies, which he required, excluding them from the protection of that government, which they refused to support. By this decisive conduct he not only overcame the resistance of the clergy, but also taught the people, who were his instruments, to renounce their excessive reverence for those, by whom they had long been guided.

---

[42] Henry, vol. viii. p. 123. [43] Ibid., vol. vii. p. 76. [44] Ibid., p. 64.

Edward indeed, it must be admitted, while he secured the dependence of the church, added strength to the aristocracy by consenting to a statute[46], which enabled the nobles to entail their estates upon their posterities. So many causes had co-operated to break down the great properties, which after the conquest had been vested in the barons, the forfeitures in public disturbances, the debts incurred by the crusades, the divisions of property among female inheritors, and perhaps more than all these the increasing habits of expensive living, that the nobles in this reign had become alarmed, lest all the considerable families should be ruined, and extorted from the king his assent to a measure of protection. It was however in a great degree evaded about two centuries afterwards; and in that interval, in which the commons had not yet acquired much influence in the government, the maintenance of the

[45] Burne's Eccles. Law, art. *Mortmain*.

[46] The thirteenth of Edward I. 'The perpetuities established by this statute,' says judge Barrington, 'in process of time had so much contributed to the 'increase of power in the barons, that about two centuries after- 'wards, it was in a great measure evaded, by the invention of what is 'called a *common recovery*: it was impossible for the crown to procure 'a repeal of this law in the house of lords, and therefore the judges 'had probably an intimation, that they must by *astutia*, as it is 'called, render a statute of no effect, which the king could not extort 'an alteration of, from one part of the legislature.'—Observ. on the more Anc. Stat. p. 131.

aristocracy seems to have been more especially necessary for balancing the power of the crown.

The legislative improvements of the reign of this prince have procured for him from lord Coke[47] the honourable title of the English Justinian. He was not indeed disposed to give much attention to the liberties of his people, and required to be constrained by the necessity of conciliating their support; but he was well inclined to maintain among them the equal administration of justice, and careful to establish the regulations, by which it might be most effectually secured. Sir Matthew Hale has accordingly borne the strongest testimony to the merits of this part of his government. The laws of England[48], says he, did never in any one age receive so great and sudden an advancement; nor have all the ages since his time done so much for the due establishment of the distributive justice of the kingdom, as was effected within the period of his reign: and he regards the state, in which this prince left the law, as the standard from which a just opinion might best be formed of its true nature and character.

In concluding this survey of those two reigns it may be useful to remark, that they form the epoch of the modern system of taxation, not less than of the popular part of the constitution. Before the reign of Henry III. the occasional resources of the government had consisted in scutages and other aids[49], which were collected in an arbitrary manner. At the conclusion of that of John the great charter had ordained, that all scutages and other aids, except in certain feudal cases, should be levied by the great council; but two reigns were still necessary for rendering the ordinance operative and permanent. To give it this efficacy[50] the wasteful profusion of Henry and the enterprising and splendid policy of Edward equally contributed. Both princes, though by very different causes, were driven to the people for the relief of their necessities; and therefore both found themselves compelled to reinforce the public councils with the representatives of inferior orders of society. It seems indeed as if the interchange of taxation for political rights were the salutary circulation of power through the organs of the constitution. Property is power, by whomsoever it is held. If the government possesses adequate resources independent of popular contribution, it is necessarily despotic; if it is supported by taxation, the people must be free, unless the constitution should have provided no organ, through which the circulation of power might be regularly performed. The former government of France depended on taxation, and yet was not free; but the constitution was defective, and even obstructed the circulation of power by the privileges of a very numerous nobility. Its embarrassments accordingly ended in revolution. In the English government, the substitution of scutages for military service had destroyed the exemption of the nobles; taxation therefore extended itself freely through all the orders of the community without any exception; and all found themselves united in one common interest, in which their own was connected with the public welfare.

---

[47] Judge Barrington conjectures, that he was honoured with this appellation chiefly on account of that collection of laws generally called Westminster II.—Ibid., p. 127.

[48] Hist. of the Common Law, ch. vii. Of the composition of that system of law, which has been indebted to Edward for so much of its improvement, Mr. Woodeson has given the following account in his Elements of Jurisprudence, p. 147.—Dubl. 1792. 'The frame of our whole constitution, 'the trial by jury, and many received doctrines respecting crimes and 'punishments, may be considered as of Anglo-Saxon original; much 'of the law concerning landed estates depends on feudal principles; 'and in contracts affecting personal property even our legal judicatures (as distinguished from those of equity) have been long acquainted with the use of the Roman institutions.'

[49] Parl. Hist., vol. i. p. 35.

---

[50] He reduced to 60,000 marks the income of the crown, which to William the Conqueror had been 400,000 pounds.—Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue, vol. i. p. 102. Lond., 1803. M. Paris says, that he owed so much money, and to so many people, for even the very necessaries of life, that he could scarcely venture to appear in public.—Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 45.

END OF VOL. I.

PRINTED AND STEREOTYPED BY J. BILLING, WOKING, SURREY.

BOHN'S CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

A SERIES OF LITERAL PROSE TRANSLATIONS OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS,
WITH NOTES AND INDEXES.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, 5*s. each* (*except Thucydides, Æschylus, Virgil, Horace, Cicero's Offices, Demosthenes, Appendix to Æschylus, Aristotle's Organon, all of which are* 3*s.* 6*d. each volume*).

1. **HERODOTUS.** By the REV. HENRY CARY, M.A. *Frontispiece.*

2 & 3. **THUCYDIDES.** By the REV. H. DALE. In 2 Vols. (3*s.* 6*d.* each). *Frontispiece.*

4. **PLATO.** Vol. I. By CARY. [The Apology of Socrates, Crito, Phædo, Gorgias, Protagotas, Phædrus, Theætetus, Euthyphron, Lysis.] *Frontispiece.*

5. **LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME,** literally translated. Vol. I., Books 1 to 8.

6. **PLATO.** Vol. II. By DAVIS. [The Republic, Timæus, and Critias.]

7. **LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME.** Vol. II., Books 9 to 26.

8. **SOPHOCLES.** The Oxford Translation, revised.

9. **ÆSCHYLUS,** literally translated. By an OXONIAN. (Price 3*s.* 6*d.*)

9* ———— Appendix to, containing the new readings given in Hermann's posthumous edition of Æschylus, translated and edited by G. BURGES, M.A. (3*s.* 6*d*).

10. **ARISTOTLE'S RHETORIC AND POETIC.** With Examination Questions.

11. **LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME.** Vol. III., Books 27 to 36.

12 & 14. **EURIPIDES,** literally translated. From the Text of Dindorf. In 2 Vols.

13. **VIRGIL.** By DAVIDSON. New Edition, Revised. (Price 3*s.* 6*d.*) *Frontispiece.*

15. **HORACE.** By SMART. New Edition, Revised. (Price 3*s.* 6*d.*) *Frontispiece.*

16. **ARISTOTLE'S ETHICS.** By PROF. R. W. BROWNE, of King's College.

17. **CICERO'S OFFICES.** [Old Age, Friendship, Scipio's Dream, Paradoxes, &c.]

18. **PLATO.** Vol. III. By G. BURGES, M.A. [Euthydemus, Symposium, Sophistes, Politicus, Laches, Parmenides, Cratylus, and Meno.]

19. **LIVY'S HISTORY OF ROME.** Vol. IV. (which completes the work).

20. **CÆSAR AND HIRTIUS.** With Index.

21. **HOMER'S ILIAD,** in prose, literally translated. *Frontispiece.*

22. **HOMER'S ODYSSEY,** HYMNS, EPIGRAMS, AND BATTLE OF THE FROGS AND MICE.

23. **PLATO.** Vol. IV. By G. BURGES, M.A. [Philebus, Charmides, Laches, The Two Alcibiades, and Ten other Dialogues.]

24, 25, & 32. **OVID.** By H. T. RILEY, B.A. Complete in 3 Vols. *Frontispieces.*

26. **LUCRETIUS.** By the REV. J. S. WATSON. With the Metrical Version of J. M. GOOD.

27, 30, 31, & 34. **CICERO'S ORATIONS.** By C. D. YONGE. Complete in 4 Vols. (Vol. 4 contains also the Rhetorical Pieces.)

28. **PINDAR.** By DAWSON W. TURNER. With the Metrical Version of MOORE. *Front.*

29. **PLATO.** Vol. V. By G. BURGES, M.A. [The Laws.]

33 & 36. **THE COMEDIES OF PLAUTUS,** By H. T. RILEY, B.A. In 2 Vols.

35. **JUVENAL, PERSIUS, &c.** By the REV. L. EVANS, M.A. With the Metrical Version of GIFFORD. *Frontispiece.*

37. **THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY,** translated chiefly by G. BURGES, A.M., with Metrical Versions by various Authors.

38. **DEMOSTHENES.** The Olynthiac, Philippic, and other Public Orations, with Notes, Appendices, &c., by C. RANN KENNEDY. (3*s.* 6*d.*)

1 *e*

BOHN'S CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

39. **SALLUST, FLORUS,** and **VELLEIUS PATERCULUS,** with copious Notes, Biographical Notices, and Index, by the Rev. J. S. WATSON, M.A.

40. **LUCAN'S PHARSALIA,** with copious Notes, by H. T. RILEY, B.A.

41. **THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS** and **TYRTÆUS,** by the Rev. J. BANKS, M.A. With the Metrical Versions of CHAPMAN. *Frontispiece.*

42. **CICERO'S ACADEMICS, DE FINIBUS** and **TUSCULAN QUESTIONS,** by C. D. YONGE, B A. With Sketch of the Greek Philosophy.

43. **ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS AND ECONOMICS,** by E. WALFORD, M.A., with Notes, Analyses, Life, Introduction, and Index.

44. **DIOGENES LAERTIUS. LIVES AND OPINIONS OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS,** with Notes by C. D. YONGE, B.A.

45. **TERENCE** and **PHÆDRUS,** by H. T. RILEY. To which is added SMART'S Metrical Version of Phædrus. *Frontispiece.*

46 & 47. **ARISTOTLE'S ORGANON,** or, Logical Treatises, and the Introduction of Porphyry, with Notes, Analysis, Introduction and Index, by the Rev. O. F. OWEN, M.A. 2 Vols., 3s. 6d. per Vol.

48 & 49. **ARISTOPHANES,** with Notes and Extracts from the best Metrical Versions, by W. J. HICKIE, in 2 Vols. *Frontispiece.*

50. **CICERO ON THE NATURE OF THE GODS, DIVINATION, FATE, LAWS, REPUBLIC, &c,** translated by C. D. YONGE, B.A.

51. **APULEIUS.** [The Golden Ass, Death of Socrates, Florida, and Defence or Discourse on Magic]. To which is added a Metrical Version of Cupid and Psyche; and Mrs. Tighe's Psyche. *Frontispiece.*

52. **JUSTIN, CORNELIUS NEPOS** and **EUTROPIUS,** with Notes and a General Index, by the Rev. J. S. WATSON, M.A.

53 & 58. **TACITUS.** Vol. I. The Annals. Vol. II. The History, Germania, Agricola, &c. With Index.

54. **PLATO.** Vol VI., completing the work, and containing Epinomis, Axiochus, Eryxias, on Virtue, on Justice, Sisyphus, Demodocus, and Definitions; the Treatise of Timæus Locrus on the Soul of the World and Nature; the Lives of Plato by Diogenes Laertius, Hesychius, and Olympiodorus; and the Introductions to his Doctrines by Alcinous and Albinus; Apuleius on the Doctrines of Plato, and Remarks on Plato's Writings by the Poet Gray. Edited, with Notes, by G. BURGES, M.A., Trin. Coll., Camb. With general Index to the 6 Volumes.

55, 56, 57. **ATHENÆUS.** The Deipnosophists, or the Banquet of the Learned, translated by C. D. YONGE, B.A., with an Appendix of Poetical Fragments rendered into English verse by various Authors, and a general Index. Complete in 3 Vols.

59. **CATULLUS, TIBULLUS,** and the **VIGIL OF VENUS.** A literal prose translation. To which are added Metrical Versions by LAMB, GRAINGER, and others. *Frontispiece.*

60. **PROPERTIUS,** PETRONIUS ARBITER and JOHANNES SECUNDUS, literally translated, and accompanied by Poetical Versions, from various sources; to which are added the Love Epistles of ARISTÆNETUS. Edited by W. K. KELLY.

61. **THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO,** translated, with copious Notes, by W. FALCONER, M.A., and H. C. HAMILTON, Esq. In 3 Vols. Vol. I.

62. **XENOPHON'S ANABASIS,** or Expedition of Cyrus, and **MEMORABILIA,** or Memoirs of Socrates, translated by the Rev. J. S. WATSON, with a Geographical Commentary by W. F. AINSWORTH. *Frontispiece.*

63. ———— CYROPÆDIA and HELLENICS, by the Rev. H. DALE, and the Rev. J. S. WATSON.

BOHN'S CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

64. **PLINY'S NATURAL HISTORY,** translated, with copious Notes, by the late JOHN BOSTOCK, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. RILEY Esq. B.A. Vol. 1.

65. **SUETONIUS.** Lives of the Cæsars, and other Works. THOMSON'S translation revised by T. FORESTER.

BOHN'S ANTIQUARIAN LIBRARY.

Uniform with the STANDARD LIBRARY, *price* 5s.,

1. **BEDE'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, & THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.**
2. **MALLET'S NORTHERN ANTIQUITIES.** By BISHOP PERCY. With Abstract of the Erbyggia Saga, by SIR WALTER SCOTT. Edited by J. A. BLACKWELL.
3. **WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.**
4. **SIX OLD ENGLISH CHRONICLES:** viz., Asser's Life of Alfred; the Chronicles of Ethelwerd, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffry of Monmouth, and Richard of Cirencester.
5. **ELLIS'S EARLY ENGLISH METRICAL ROMANCES.** Revised by J. ORCHARD HALLIWELL. Complete in one vol., *Illuminated Frontispiece.*
6. **CHRONICLES OF THE CRUSADERS:** Richard of Devizes. Geoffrey de Vinsauf. Lord de Joinville. Complete in 1 volume. *Frontispiece.*
7. **EARLY TRAVELS IN PALESTINE.** Willibald, Sæwulf, Benjamin of Tudela, Mandeville, La Brocquiere, and Maundrell. In one volume. *With Map.*

8, 10, & 12. **BRAND'S POPULAR ANTIQUITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.** By SIR HENRY ELLIS. In 3 Vols.

9 & 11. **ROGER OF WENDOVER'S FLOWERS OF HISTORY** (formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris.) In 2 Vols.

13. **KEIGHTLEY'S FAIRY MYTHOLOGY.** Enlarged. *Frontispiece* by CRUIKSHANK.

14, 15, & 16. **SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S WORKS.** Edited by SIMON WILKIN. *Portrait.* In 3 Vols. With Index.

17, 19, & 31. **MATTHEW PARIS'S CHRONICLE,** containing the History of England from 1235, translated by DR. GILES, with Index to the whole, including the portion published under the name of ROGER OF WENDOVER, in 3 Vols. (See 9 & 11). *Portrait.*

18. **YULE-TIDE STORIES.** A collection of Scandinavian Tales and Traditions, edited by B. THORPE, Esq.

20 & 23. **ROGER DE HOVEDEN'S ANNALS OF ENGLISH HISTORY,** from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. Translated and edited by H. T. RILEY, Esq., B.A. In 2 Vols.

21. **HENRY OF HUNTINGDON'S HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH,** from the Roman Invasion to Henry II.; with The Acts of King Stephen, &c. Translated and edited by T. FORESTER, Esq., M.A.

BOHN'S SHILLING SERIES.

*Those marked *, being Double Volumes, are 1s. 6d.*

1. EMERSON'S REPRESENTATIVE MEN.
2. IRVING'S LIFE OF MAHOMET.*
3. THE GENUINE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.
4. WILLIS'S PEOPLE I HAVE MET.*
5. IRVING'S SUCCESSORS OF MAHOMET.*
6. ——— LIFE OF GOLDSMITH.*
7. ——— SKETCH-BOOK.*
8. ——— TALES OF A TRAVELLER.*
9. ——— TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES.

10 & 11. —— CONQUESTS OF GRANADA AND SPAIN. 2 Vols.*

12 & 13. —— LIFE OF COLUMBUS. 2 Vols.*

14. ——— COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS.*

15 & 16. TAYLOR'S EL DORADO; or, Pictures of the Gold Region. 2 Vols.

17. IRVING'S ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE.*
18. ——— KNICKERBOCKER.*
19. ——— TALES OF THE ALHAMBRA.*
20. ——— CONQUEST OF FLORIDA.*
21. ——— ABBOTSFORD AND NEWSTEAD.
22. ——— SALMAGUNDI.*
23. ——— BRACEBRIDGE HALL.*
24. ——— ASTORIA (*Portrait of the Author*). 2 Vols. in 1. 2*s*.
25. LAMARTINE'S GENEVIEVE; or, The History of a Servant Girl. Translated by A. R. SCOBLE.*
26. MAYO'S BERBER; or, The Mountaineer of the Atlas. A Tale of Morocco.
27. WILLIS'S LIFE HERE AND THERE; or, Sketches of Society and Adventure.*
28. GUIZOT'S LIFE OF MONK, with Appendix and *Portrait*.*
29. THE CAPE AND THE KAFFIRS: A Diary of Five Years' Residence, with Advice to Emigrants. By H. WARD. *Plate and Map of the Seat of War*. 2*s*.
30. WILLIS'S HURRY-GRAPHS; or, Sketches of Scenery, Celebrities, and Society, taken from Life.*
31. HAWTHORNE'S HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES. A Romance.
32. LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS; with Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Great Exhibition. By CYRUS REDDING. *Numerous Illustrations*. 2*s*.
33. LAMARTINE'S STONEMASON OF SAINT POINT.*
34. GUIZOT'S MONK'S CONTEMPORARIES. A Series of Biographic Studies on the English Revolution. *Portrait of Edward Lord Clarendon*.
35. HAWTHORNE'S TWICE-TOLD TALES.
36. ——— The same, Second Series.
37. ——— SNOW IMAGE, and other Tales.
38. ——— SCARLET LETTER.
39. EMERSON'S ORATIONS AND LECTURES.
40. UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; or, Life among the Lowly; with Introductory Remarks by the REV. J. SHERMAN.
41. THE WHITE SLAVE. A new picture of American Slave Life.
42. DAYS OF BATTLE; or, Quatre Bras and Waterloo. By an ENGLISHWOMAN, resident at Brussels in June, 1815, (author of Rome in the Nineteenth Century).

BOHN'S SHILLING SERIES.

43. **GERVINUS' INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,** translated from the German (*with a Memoir of the Author*).

44. **CARPENTER'S (DR. W. B.) PHYSIOLOGY OF TEMPERANCE AND TOTAL ABSTINENCE,** being an Examination of the Effects of the excessive, moderate, and occasional use of Alcoholic Liquors on the Human System (or *on fine paper, bound in cloth, 2s. 6d.*)

BOHN'S MINIATURE LIBRARY.

Foolscap 12mo. elegantly bound in morocco cloth.

BARBAULD AND AIKIN'S EVENINGS AT HOME. *Frontispieces. 3s.*

BOURRIENNE'S MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON. *Portrait and Frontisp. 3s. 6d.*

BUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. With a Life and Notes by SCOTT, containing all in Southey's Edition. 25 *Woodcuts, by* HARVEY, *Frontisp.* &c. *3s. 6d.*

——— **CHEEVER'S LECTURES ON,** *Frontisp. 2s. 6d.*

BYRON'S POETICAL WORKS, in 1 thick Volume, including several suppressed Poems not included in other editions. *Beautiful Frontispiece. 3s. 6d.*

——— **DON JUAN,** complete. *Frontispieces. 2s. 6d.*

COLERIDGE'S SELECT POETICAL WORKS. *2s.*

COWPER'S POETICAL WORKS, with Life by SOUTHEY, including all the copyright Poems (700 pages). *Beautiful Frontispieces after* HARVEY, *by* GOODALL. *3s. 6d.*

DRYDEN'S POETICAL WORKS, complete in 1 Vol., with *a Portrait, Frontispiece, and Vignette Title. 3s. 6d.*

ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF MANNERS AND ETIQUETTE, comprising an improved edition of Chesterfield's Advice to his Son on Men and Manners. *2s.*

HEBER'S (BP.) & MRS. HEMANS' POETICAL WORKS. 3 Vols. in 1. *Fronts. 2s. 6d.*

HERRICK'S POETICAL WORKS, complete. *Frontispiece. 3s.*

JOE MILLER'S JEST BOOK. *Frontispiece. 3s.*

LONGFELLOW'S POETICAL WORKS, viz.—Voices of the Night—Evangeline—Sea-side and Fireside—Spanish Students—Translations. *Portrait and Frontisp. 2s. 6d.*

——— **PROSE WORKS,** viz.—Outre-Mer—Hyperion—Kavanagh. *2s. 6d.*

MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS, with Life and Notes by DR. STEBBING; and Dr. Channing's Essay on Milton. *Frontispiece. 3s. 6d.*

NEW JOE MILLER, a Selection of Modern Jests, Witticisms, Droll Tales, &c. *2s. 6d.*

OSSIAN'S POEMS, with Dissertations by MACPHERSON and Dr. Blair. *Frontisp. 3s.*

POPE'S HOMER'S ILIAD. Essay on Homer. Notes and Essays. *Frontispiece. 3s.*

——— **ODYSSEY,** (uniform). *Frontispiece. 3s.*

SCOTT'S POETICAL WORKS, and Life, in one volume. *Port. and Frontisp. 3s. 6d.*

STURM'S REFLECTIONS ON THE WORKS OF GOD. *Frontisp. 3s.*

THOMPSON'S SEASONS. With his Castle of Indolence, 4 *beautiful Woodcuts. 2s.*

VATHEK, AND THE AMBER WITCH. 2 vols. in 1. *2s. 6d.*

D102 .M64 v.1
History,

Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library

1 1012 00021 5949